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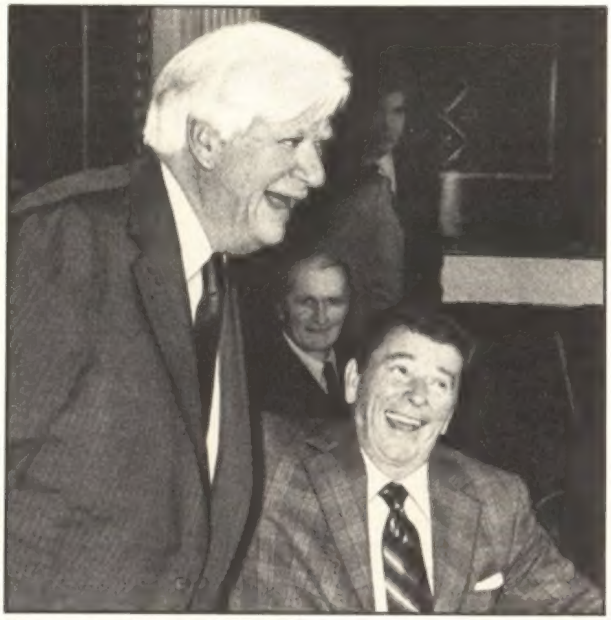

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MARCH 23, 1981 Vol. 117 No. 12

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

A Letter from the Publisher

The curse of violent crime has touched many American families, including our own. A surprising number of the TIME staff members who worked on this week's cover stories have themselves recently been victims of crimes. Senior Writer Ed Magnuson, who wrote the main story, was mugged at knifepoint as he put the key in the lock of his front door earlier this year. He lost $32 and his credit cards. A few months before that, Magnuson's apartment was burglarized. "The only evidence they left behind was a pair of shoes," he says. "They weren't even my size." Associate Editor John Leo, who wrote the assessment of crime's impact on American society, is a two-time burglary victim. Says he: "All U.S. cities are in danger of becoming unlivable. For a parent, the fear for your children is never very far from your mind."

Correspondent David Jackson awoke early one morning in his Chicago apartment to find a robber pointing a gun at him. The man took $5 and fled. Says Jackson: "Despite all the stories I had done about truly violent crimes, I was still unprepared for the clammy, hand-trembling fear that comes with being a victim." After a neighbor was brutally murdered in his Manhattan apartment building, Correspondent Robert Geline agreed to assist in the investigation. He was hypnotized by police in order to help him recall details of the crime. Says Geline sadly: "Eight months later the murder remains unsolved." Last month TIME's Marc Levinson had his Atlanta home broken into on two consecutive weekends. "I was not at home either time," says Levinson. "But I felt the anger and true sense of violation that come when someone has ransacked your property."

Last week Deputy Art Director Irene Ramp, who was working on the presentation of this week's cover stories, was the only customer in a Manhattan clothing store when two men walked in, drew pistols and demanded money from the cashier. Ramp remained silent in the dressing room, where she had been trying on a shirt, until the men had made their getaway with about $300. "If I had surprised them, anything could have happened," she says. Ramp emerged from the ordeal unscathed—but $25 poorer: "After watching the whole thing, I felt obliged to buy the shirt." Assistant Picture Editor Sue Considine, who gathered the photos that accompany the cover stories, lost $120 from her pocketbook in a Greenwich Village restaurant. Says she: "Now I know to keep it on my lap."

The most frightening thing, perhaps, is that it has all become so commonplace. But one crime, certainly, has left a lasting scar of frustration and loss on the entire staff. TIME Photographer Paul Keating was shot to death on a Manhattan street last year as he attempted to stop a mugging.

John A. Meyer

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Letters

Budget Blues

To the Editors:

When the people elected Ronald Reagan, it was with the full knowledge of how he planned to cure the economic mess facing the country [March 2]. He spelled it out loud and clear. The medicine is bitter, but it may help our recovery.

Constance Beardsley
West Caldwell, N.J.

A compromise is needed in enacting Reagan's programs. For two years we should defer those proposals that will have a harsh impact on the nation's poor, minorities and cities. After all, no 50-year addict can go cold turkey overnight. If Reagan is right, then the private sector will have made progress in alleviating the problems. If Reagan is wrong, then a disaster will have at least been deferred.

Bob Higgins
Ann Arbor, Mich.

You quote House Speaker Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill Jr.'s warning: "We're not going to let them tear asunder the programs we've built over the years." These programs that give away this or give away that, regardless of the cost to taxpayers, have produced the mess we're in.

Charles M. Stone
Kissimmee, Fla.

As Canadians faced with similar problems, we applaud President Reagan's determination to dismantle his country's tangled web of pyramiding bureaucracy. But we question his increased military spending in contrast with massive cuts for the arts and humanities. Certainly, every nation should maintain its defenses. But if that means neglecting its precious arts and culture, the U.S. may survive but, in fact, cease to live.

Helen and Alton Dahlstrom
Rossland, B.C.

While gutting some of this country's most progressive social service programs, President Reagan assures us that "we will not balance the budget on the backs of the poor." I don't think he will either, but certainly his attempt will increase the number of poor and soon to be poor. Seldom in our history has one man proposed taking so much from so many to so little purpose.

Ken Scheel
Las Cruces, N. Mex.

If we are indeed committed to the American philosophy of capitalism, we must accept the fact that unless we encourage the rich to put their money into stocks, bonds, factories and mines, there will be no jobs for the poor. It is natural enough to envy and even hate the rich, but killing the goose that lays the golden egg puts no meat on the table.

Jon B. Leder
Chatham, Mass.

American Renewal

After reading American Renewal [Feb. 23], I felt that I must congratulate you for having the intestinal fortitude to undertake such a monumental project and for articulating solutions to the great problems. Although some may not agree with all of your proposals, business and labor statesmen as well as Government leaders should take the time to peruse this landmark document.

Mike Douglas
Los Angeles

I'm a young federal employee, working with pollution in our environment. I'm also a woman. By your description I am a "special interest" person. But I also have a special interest in America. I support all the elements of our American Renewal. Bravo TIME! Bravo America!

Amanda Morrow
Dallas

Nowhere has the decline of the U.S. been so evident as in the decay of our once proud space program. There can be no American Renewal unless we again explore the solar system as we did in the 1960s. A generation of young Americans is chomping at the bit wanting to carry the flag into space.

Martin Ross
Ann Arbor, Mich.

In your discussion of special interests, it is not correct to include environmental and women's issues. Special interests are single items, like tobacco, sugar, guns and oil. On the other hand, environmental concerns and women's rights are fundamental to safeguard constitutional liberties and earthly survival, for the good of all, not only a certain few.

Jane Boren White
Tucson

Lance Morrow touches only briefly on violent crime, the most important issue facing our nation. No renewal is possible until we can control crime. To accomplish that we need to rid ourselves of the notion that the judicial system is for the rehabilitation of criminals. It is not and shouldn't be. We have to learn to stop apologizing to culprits and punish them.

Jack Zawid
Atlantic City, N.J.

America cannot be renewed by relegating to the ranks of special interests the one thing that holds the hope for a better future—education. Teaching the country's young must be an important priority for us in the coming years. We can go nowhere unless we are willing to develop people who will become the leaders of our nation.

Joshua B. Fraimow
Oberlin, Ohio

American Renewal is a brilliant and an enduring contribution. Congratulations and thanks for your leadership and imagination. I have a particular interest in reforming the use of television in political campaigns and have made similar recommendations. If you keep at it, maybe the time will come.

Newton N. Minow
Chicago
Minow was chairman of the Federal Communications Commission from 1961 to 1963 and responsible for the description of TV as a "vast wasteland."

America has to operate in an increasingly belligerent and dangerous international arena, but our security, legitimacy and authority are nowhere more threatened than in the backwaters and slums of rural and urban America. The Soviets may be one enemy, but poverty and racial inequality are our mortal enemies, the danger from within. If our democratic system continues to tolerate an increasingly violent and economically unjust society, who will choose America—and why?

Steven Marc Glick
Democrats Abroad (U.K.)
London

In your fantastic report on the American Renewal, there was one topic you missed in the discussion of how to reform the system. I think we are in line for an overhaul of our federal superstructure, reducing the number of states to 20 or 30. It's something to look into, considering how many levels of government are required to deal with all the problems in the metropolitan areas of the country such as New York, Washington and Weirton-Steubenville.

Andy Higgins
Weirton, W. Va.

Since when is concern for the environment a "narrow cause"? Why did Henry Grunwald not include obvious narrow causes like those represented by relentless developers and speculators and

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Letters

all-too-powerful corporations? Without a healthful, life-supporting planet, all other causes are worthless.

Patricia Cole-Blaha
Melbourne Beach, Fla.

Guns for El Salvador

President Reagan should be commended for his handling of the situation in El Salvador [March 2]. Since our nations share the same continent, our vital interests and national security are at stake, not just because that country is experiencing civil strife, but because that struggle is being actively supported by the Soviet Union.

David Grossberg
Upland, Calif.

In Iran, Americans were taken hostage and finally released. None of them died. The U.S. howled to condemn this act of violence, yet failed to acknowledge the full implications of its own ambiguous and self-centered policies.

In El Salvador, four Americans were killed last December, murders for which, it seems, Salvadoran authorities are heavily accountable. The response from the U.S. was vague protests and military aid. There have been rumors about an alleged "new American consistency," but it seems the only consistency in the U.S.'s policies is its pursuit of self-interests at the expense of truth and real freedom.

Cante Philippe
Bordeaux, France

Americans who recall how we got embroiled in Viet Nam must have a chilling sense of déjà vu as they read of our increasing involvement in El Salvador. Are we sliding into another Viet Nam while Congress and the public understandably have their attention focused elsewhere —on our domestic economic problems.

Don Shaw
East Aurora, N.Y.

Khmer Rouge: Friend or Foe?

How can the U.S. and the Western European allies even think of accepting the barbaric Khmer Rouge [March 2] in the U.N.? Unless the resistance groups in Cambodia disavow the Khmer Rouge, there is no excuse for the U.S. to give them any support, not even moral. The regime now in power may be pro-Soviet, but it is not carrying out mass murders. It would be disgraceful for the U.S. to help bring back this terror for the sake of controlling Soviet expansion.

Lawrence A. Barros
Shippensburg, Pa.

I read and reread with great interest your article about the fear of Viet Nam by Cambodia and Thailand. As a South Vietnamese who suffered the inhumanity of the Communists for more than five years, I can only regret how much damage the American press did both to us and to the American people. Only the negative aspects of South Vietnamese efforts were emphasized. Similarly the American involvement was viewed with skepticism. This of course served our enemies well. The result was that we lost our land, and our people were put under the rule of the new Soviet tsars.

The Vietnamese people fully realize now that the system they lost (even though there was need for great improvement) is much superior to the alternative the Communists keep boasting about to the world. I regret my delayed expression of appreciation for the American sacrifices in Viet Nam.

Chu Tam Cuong
Paris

Murdoch on Fleet Street

Researching the Fleet Street career of G.K. Chesterton for a biography, I found it amusing to note that the staid London *Times* [March 2] was taken over in 1908 by a vulgar, pushy publisher, Alfred Harmsworth, who was known for his yellow journalism. Chesterton wrote that while "almost everybody attacks the *Times* on the ground it is very sensational, very violent and vulgar and startling, I say this journalism offends by being not sensational or violent enough. The vague idea that our yellow press is sensational arises from such external accidents as large type or lurid headlines [which] are soothing to people in a dimly lighted train." It is likely that the *Times*, having survived in a venerable fashion for the past 75 years, will be able to survive Rupert Murdoch.

Alzina Stone Dale
Chicago

No Black Pilots

The passages from Mary Mebane's book *Mary* [March 2] brought back memories of similar encounters in my own life. In 1938 the principal of my high school summoned my mother to his office, because I insisted on taking a college-prep curriculum instead of a general course, so that I could become an airline pilot. The principal said to her: "There is no reason for Henry to take such a course, because there will be no black pilots."

During World War II, I became one of the first black Marines, and in 1951 I obtained my pilot's license. Yet I was never accepted by a commercial airline.

Yes, Mary Mebane, as a black male I can share your feelings and remember when the "chosen few" were light, bright and damn near white.

Henry R. Manning
Goleta, Calif.

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"I've also started caring for two little boys. They're a five-year-old named Damiano in Uganda and David, who is six and lives in Bolivia. Neither of these children has had enough to eat and both are suffering from poor health. But with my help, that will change. I know how much my love and support will do for each child. Because I know what it's doing for Marites.

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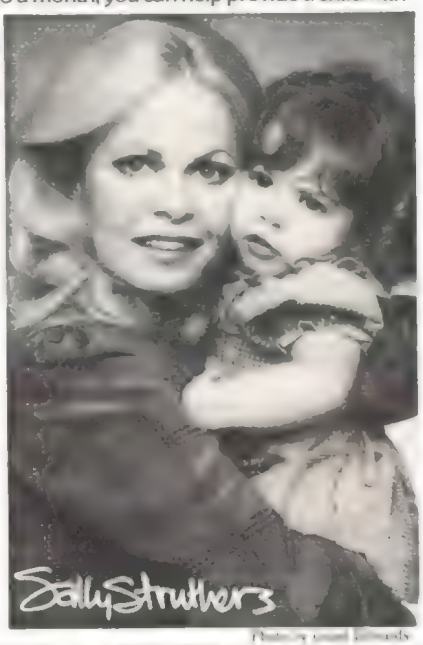

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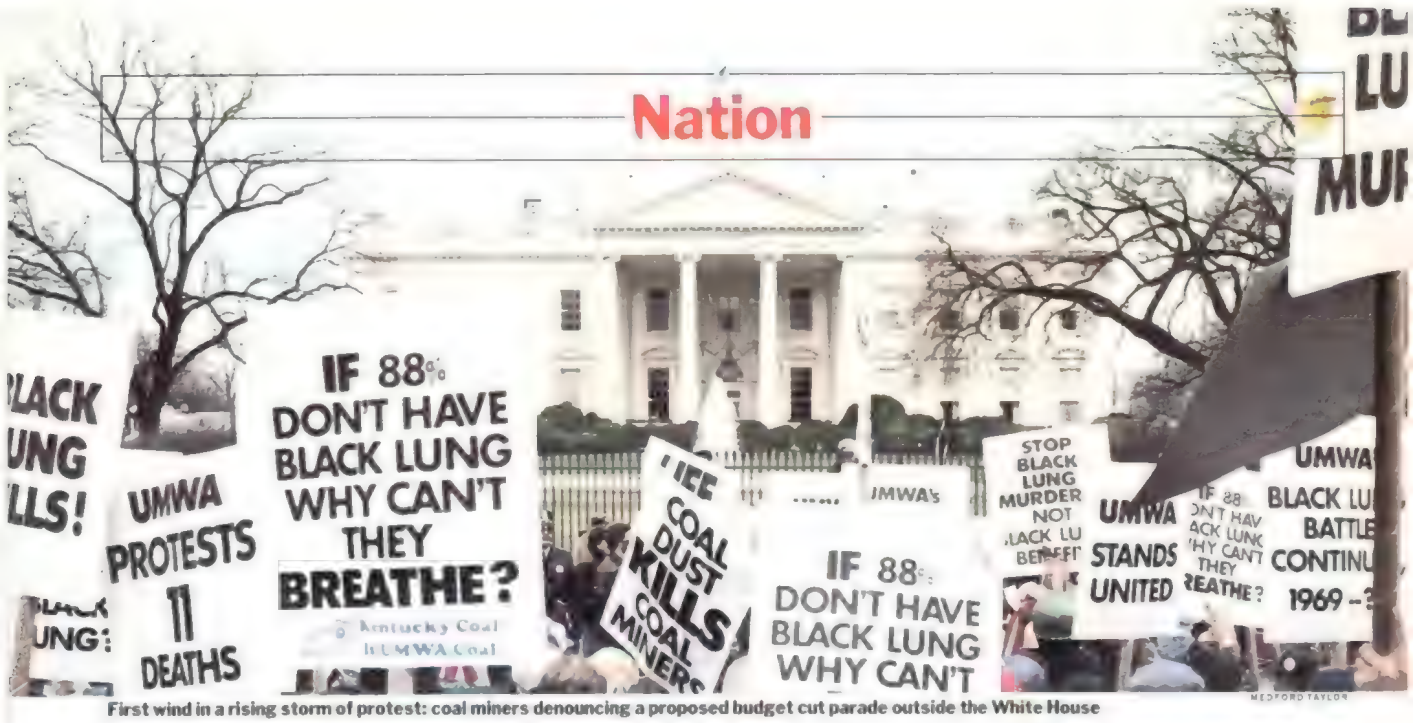


First wind in a rising storm of protest: coal miners denouncing a proposed budget cut parade outside the White House

TIME MARCH 23, 1981

When the Cheering Died

The President makes his final budget proposals, and the battle begins

"I urge the members of Congress to remember that last November the American people's message was loud and clear. The mandate for change, expressed by the American people, was not my mandate; it was our mandate."

With that ten-ton hint, Ronald Reagan last week sent Congress the second and final installment of his budget-slashing proposals for the next fiscal year. The President's meaning was unmistakable: the public wants deep cuts in both spending and taxes, and any legislator who tries to keep the ax from falling risks putting his own neck under an ax at the polls. But the warning did not prevent opponents in and out of Congress, some of whom had initially seemed stunned into silence by the vigor of Reagan's budget blitz, from recovering their voices. Though Reagan still seems likely to win a great deal of what he wants, it will only be after a fight in which some of his specific proposals could be substantially reshaped.

At first, many cautious Congressmen held off pronouncing judgment on the program until they could see its full dimensions. The White House provided them last week in a 165-page blue-bound book titled simply *Fiscal Year 1982 Budget Revisions*. The document added $13.8 billion in proposed spending cuts to the $34.8 billion that the President identified in his televised speech to Congress on Feb. 18. It also lengthened the list of programs being trimmed from 83 to nearly 300. Moreover, Reagan proposed a cut of $21 billion, or 14%, in the authority of federal agencies to make or guarantee loans to farmers, small businessmen, consumer cooperatives and a wide variety of other borrowers; many of these loan-guarantee activities are not included in the official budget. The goal: to reduce competition between Government and private borrowers for lendable funds, a rivalry that has helped push up interest rates.

The Administration had to do some scrambling to come up with the new reductions in official spending, since Reagan had hit most of the prime targets in his February message. Some of the new cuts are quite small: for example, $2 million to be saved by closing 38 National Weather Service forecasting stations and $280,000 to be pared by shutting down the National Aquarium in Washington. The biggest saving, $4.2 billion, is a rather empty formality. It results from withdrawing recommendations by Jimmy Carter for new tax credits to states and businesses, credits that had never been enacted and that Reagan was unlikely to accept.

The rest of the proposed reductions, however, are real enough, and bear the new Administration's distinctively conservative stamp. The President deepened several of the cuts he had proposed last month. For instance, on top of the $3.6 billion saved by wiping out the program of hiring the unemployed for public service jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, the President now recommends whacking $870 million more off CETA spending by consolidating and trimming a variety of additional youth-employment programs. Reagan had earlier recommended reducing the number of new or rehabilitated federally subsidized housing units from the 260,000 recommended for fiscal 1982 by Jimmy Carter to 225,000; last week the White House proposed a further slash, to 175,000.

In addition, budget cutters led by Office of Management and Budget Director David Stockman went after a number of departments and programs previously untouched. They proposed a $287 million decrease in an Agriculture Department feeding program for indigent pregnant or nursing women, infants and children, and a $100 million reduction in federal loans that help farmers store wheat and corn while waiting for higher prices. The White House proposed to trim $691 million from the once sacrosanct Veterans Administration budget, primarily by delaying construction of new VA hospitals; to save $230 million by reducing

Army Corps of Engineers spending on a long list of dam, canal and assorted pork-barrel projects; and to reduce much criticized shipbuilding subsidies by $40 million. Said Stockman: "The thundering herd of sacred cows has now been reduced to a handful."

Altogether, the two rounds of cuts are supposed to hold federal spending during the next fiscal year within Reagan's self-imposed limit of $695.3 billion, which is $48.6 billion less than the budget proposed by Carter just before he left office. Even so, the Government, by Reagan's own figures, will run a deficit of $45 billion—and that is before the huge increases in military spending that the Administration plans, and even before the three-year, 30% phased cut in income tax rates that it proposes, take full effect. Indeed, the White House notes that Stockman and his aides will have to cut an additional $44.2 billion out of annual nondefense spending by fiscal 1984, from sources they cannot now identify, if Reagan is to fulfill his pledge to balance the budget by that year.

But the revised presidential budget for the next fiscal year is now complete—and by sending it to Congress, Reagan gave the signal for a long-delayed storm of protest to break. On the day the President signed his budget message, 8,000 jeering coal miners marched three blocks from their union headquarters to the White House to denounce a proposed $378 million cut in federal payments for victims of black-lung disease. United Mine Workers President Sam Church Jr. asserted that 4,000 miners a year die of black lung, and cried: "That translates to eleven people a day who, after agonizing years of gasping and wheezing, finally breathe their last." The Administration says that mining companies should pay for black-lung treatment but has not yet proposed a specific way to force them to do it.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors, in a report presented by Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher, assailed the many proposed reductions in federal grants to municipalities as "disaster for the cities." At a House Education and Labor Subcommittee hearing, angry Democrats accused the Administration of "stupid, if not criminal, activity" in proposing deep cuts in nutrition programs such as food stamps and subsidized school lunches. During a Senate Budget Committee hearing, Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum, after listening to much Republican praise of Stockman, coldly told the OBM boss: "I agree you've been brilliant. I also think you have been cruel, inhumane and unfair."

Critics contend that some of the proposed budget cuts are self-defeating. New York Investment Banker Felix Rohatyn voices a widely shared fear that states and cities will raise taxes to make up for some of the proposed reductions in federal aid for education, health, transit and job-training programs. That would weaken some of the stimulus to the economy provided by cuts in federal income taxes.

Reagan after signing budget revisions

The principal attack on Reagan's program focuses on three main contentions:

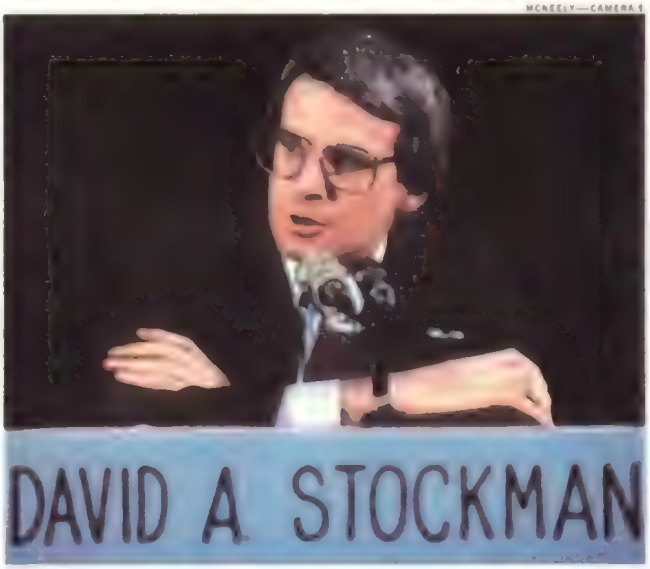
▶ The cuts strike unfairly at the poor. It is impossible to put a figure on how much of the $48.6 billion in proposed budget savings affects low-income people, both because of difficulties in defining who is "poor" and because some of the programs slated for the ax—mass-transit subsidies, for example—benefit several classes. But many of the deepest reductions, such as those in food-stamp and other nutrition programs, health, welfare and job-training plans, do come at the expense of low-income groups. Liberal Democrats vehemently argue that the Reagan tax reductions will save far more money for the affluent than for the needy.

The opposite side of this issue is that Government domestic-spending programs have for decades been aimed largely at increasing the share of national wealth that goes to low-income groups. Thus any serious attempt to reduce federal spending must focus largely on programs that benefit low-income groups. However, the poor will be helped more than any other group by the lessening of inflation and the increase in economic growth that the Reagan plan is supposed to produce. Even some Republicans appear to feel that the Administration is going too far. In a meeting of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee last week, Republicans Lowell Weicker of Connecticut and Robert Stafford of Vermont joined six Democrats in rejecting $2 billion of proposed reductions in education programs, legal services for the poor and federal assistance to help low-income people buy fuel.

▶ The cuts exempt some of the programs for which spending is growing most rapidly. Here the critics—and they include a number of conservative Republicans—have a solid point. Reagan has indeed exempted many major "entitlement" programs, those to which people are automatically "entitled" if they fit certain criteria. These include Social Security pensions, numerous veterans' benefits and Medicare. Such programs are "indexed" to inflation: the faster the Consumer Price Index rises, the more benefits increase—even though the CPI is not a totally accurate measure of the cost of living. The CPI is, for instance, heavily weighted to reflect increases in housing costs, but few of the elderly living on Social Security pensions buy houses.

The Administration has never given a satisfactory explanation for exempting these programs, even though eliminating indexing could save $22 billion in 1982. It argues that Social Security pensions and veterans' benefits form part of a "social safety net" protecting the "truly needy"—though many of the beneficiaries hardly meet any reasonable definition of that term. The real reason is plainly political: to keep millions of the vociferous middle-class elderly and veterans from attacking the Reagan budget.

▶ The budget is based on unrealistic economic assumptions. The Administration's official prediction is that if Congress enacts Reagan's spending and tax cuts, economic growth could be



The OMB boss and chief slasher briefing press on spending cuts he proposes
Said a Senator: "You've been brilliant. Also cruel and unfair."

stepped up from 1.4% this year to 5.2% next, the inflation rate lowered from an anticipated 10.5% to 7.2%, and unemployment reduced from an expected 7.7% in this year's fourth quarter to an even 7% a year later. These predictions are largely based on an expectation that enactment of the program will break the national inflationary psychology. Snorted House Budget Committee Chairman James Jones, an Oklahoma Democrat: "We are not going to put out a budget based on mirrors and magic."

Alice Rivlin, director of the Congressional Budget Office, warns that if the Administration forecasts prove too optimistic, "higher inflation, higher interest rates, higher unemployment would all work to produce more federal spending and larger federal deficits"; that would spur still more inflation. A way of hedging against that outcome, Rivlin suggests, would be to cut back on the big indexed programs like Social Security, so that higher-than-expected rises in the CPI would not push up federal spending quite so rapidly.

The outlines of a budget compromise are beginning to emerge in Congress: liberal Democrats would vote to keep Social Security pensions and veterans' benefits from rising quite as fast as the CPI. In return, conservative Republicans just might go along with the Democrats in reducing the cuts in health, nutrition and other programs for the poor. New Mexico Republican Pete Domenici, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, indicates support for such a compromise and predicts that Reagan might accept it too. Indeed, some congressional cynics suggest that the President is trying to maneuver them into taking the blame for cuts in Social Security and veterans' benefits that they believe the President knows are necessary.

Both the Republican-controlled Senate and the Democrat-controlled House are pledging speedy action on the budget. House Budget Committee Chairman Jones promises to wrap all the reductions that chairmen of other committees can agree on into one big spending bill by April 15. Moreover, he predicts that it will contain $25 billion to $30 billion in spending reductions. Jones' estimate is the lowest. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker guesses that Reagan will get 90% of the reductions he wants, and Senate Democratic Whip Alan Cranston forecasts 75%.

For all the heartfelt doubts and objections aroused by Reagan's program, the President's landslide election victory and the speed and vigor with which his aides have put together a comprehensive budget program have transformed the political climate. There will be loud and bruising fights, but they will not be about whether to cut spending, nor even primarily how deeply to cut, but simply where to cut. *—By George J. Church. Reported by Gisela Bolte and Johanna McGeary/Washington*

Putting the Poor to Work

"A cancer that is destroying those it should succor and threatening society itself." That is how California Governor Ronald Reagan described welfare in 1971. He has been waging war on that system of public support ever since. Now, as President, Reagan wants to eliminate the "legitimate fraud" of people who, he says, are fit to work but who qualify for the dole. His solution: workfare, a program in which able-bodied welfare recipients take community public service jobs to repay part of the value of their benefits.

Under Administration plans disclosed last week, unemployed adults who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (A.F.D.C.), the principal federal welfare payment, would be required to work for about 20 hours each week. Mothers with children under three years old and women with children ages three to six who cannot find day-care facilities would be exempt. So would the elderly and disabled. The Department of Health and Human Services estimates that only about 800,000 of the 10.8 million Americans on A.F.D.C. would be affected, and they could fill jobs as day-care helpers, park attendants and school crossing guards. Each state would be required to set up its own workfare system.

Various forms of workfare have been tried before, with limited success. Reagan cites California's Community Work Experience Program, which he claims

A woman in Milwaukee County's Work Assistance Program learns to use a lathe

put 75,000 people to work during his tenure as Governor. Yet records show that only about 9,600 welfare recipients received jobs. "It was essentially a leaf-raking operation," says California Legislative Analyst Tom Dooley. The program was allowed to expire.

Since 1968, the Department of Labor has overseen federal Work Incentive programs (WIN), which provide job training for welfare recipients, primarily women with children. One of the most successful has been in San Antonio, where half of 150 participants were moved off the welfare rolls in a year on a budget of only $200,000. WIN offered day care to mothers. Minnesota has had a Work Equity Program (WEP) that has trained more than 6,000 unemployed. Experts estimate that for every $1,000 spent for WEP counseling, $10,000 was saved in direct welfare expenditures. Milwaukee County's Work Assistance Program, which assigned simple chores to welfare recipients, saved local taxpayers about $9 million. There is one major problem: because of Reagan's proposed budget cuts, these programs may be put out of business.

Though many Americans concur with Reagan's plan to put welfare recipients to work, some disagree with the assumptions behind such a move. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, whose Chicago-based Operation Push stresses hard work and self-help as the road to minority success, calls workfare "psychological warfare against poor people." Says Jackson: "It's fueling the meanness mania in this country. It suggests something negative about the character of poor people." Because there are so few jobs around, some critics fear that workfare will force welfare recipients to labor for low pay in substandard conditions. Says Jackson: "In slavery, everyone had a job—but no one had dignity."

Taking His Act on the Road

Reagan plays the good neighbor and gracious host

Twenty-two scarlet-uniformed Royal Canadian Mounted Police on matched chestnut horses flanked the motorcade. An exaltation of fighter jets swooped in low against a snow-flecked sky. Demonstrators on the gracious lawns of Ottawa's Parliament Hill waved signs protesting a variety of U.S. policies. With all the requisite pomp, pageantry and protest, Ronald Reagan began his first state visit, a trip to America's No. 1 trading partner. Standing before the Gothic tower of Parliament, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau welcomed him: "Our long relationship has been based on more than neighborhood. It has been based on friendship and on a sharing of values." Mixing French and English diplomatically, Reagan responded: "*Merci. C'est un plaisir* to be here with you today."

The pleasure seemed to be real and mutual, despite several testy issues that divide the countries. As two men determined to like each other who find to their surprise that they actually do, the polished Trudeau and the affable Reagan took to each other warmly. They even exchanged lines of poetry from memory when they discovered, after a long lunch at the Prime Minister's residence, a mutual fondness for the poems of Robert Service.* Above all, Reagan succeeded by simply being Ronald Reagan, thanking the Canadian Parliament for such exports as Mary Pickford and Art Linkletter, and saying that the demonstrators who had marred his welcoming ceremony "must have been imported to make me feel at home."

The auspicious start is important. Canada is upset over the decision by Reagan earlier this month to withdraw part of a treaty, signed two years ago but held up in the Senate by New England opponents, that would apportion fishing rights in the rich Georges Bank fishery off the East Coast. Canada is also dismayed about the "acid rain" that results from some 6 million tons of sulfur dioxide drifting north from U.S. industries—a problem that could be exacerbated if U.S. pollution laws are relaxed. The Ottawa government has also been pushing for faster U.S. action on plans for the joint construction of a gas pipeline from Alaska across the Canadian West into the U.S. And the U.S. is worried about Canadian proposals to make American firms reduce their ownership in Canada's energy-related industries.

While making no specific proposals on the problems facing the two nations, the U.S. did say that it would be willing to work out a temporary plan to conserve fish supplies in disputed East Coast waters until a final resolution can be reached. This only partly satisfied Trudeau, who expressed Canada's "deep disappointment" over the fisheries problem and later warned that "more delay would be irresponsible." On the acid rain issue, Secretary of State Alexander Haig claimed that the U.S. shared Trudeau's "concern"—an assurance that did little to allay Canada's fears. But the important thing, from the Canadian viewpoint, was the groundwork that was laid. Reagan had wanted to make a quick unofficial visit to Canada, as he did to Mexico before his Inauguration, to stress his still undefined notion of a "North American accord." Because of scheduling problems, he ended up going to Canada on his first state visit as President.

Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau confiding with Reagan in Ottawa

Some problems, but a shared love for The Cremation of Sam McGee.

That gesture will have its own payoff. As External Affairs Minister Mark MacGuigan told reporters pressing him on Canadian grievances, "Look, this is probably the first American President in history to begin his Administration with an approach to Canada."

For the U.S., there was an additional benefit to the meetings. Haig and Reagan were able to explain American policy in El Salvador and receive a qualified endorsement of its general goals. Trudeau and MacGuigan oppose U.S. shipments of arms to El Salvador, and Trudeau had promised Liberals in the government that the issue would be raised in the strongest terms. But U.S. officials calmed some of the Canadian concerns. Said MacGuigan at the conclusion of the talks: "The arms flow, which is apparently intended to balance out the arms that have already been received by the rebels from outside, is not the harbinger of a massive U.S. military involvement in El Salvador. This was an explanation that was most welcome to us."

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher also expressed concern about U.S. involvement in El Salvador on his visit to Washington early last week. Like the Canadians, the West Germans are opposed to outside arms going to either side in the conflict. They see the struggle as an indigenous one requiring a political solution, rather than an East-West showdown. Though U.S. policy has apparently produced certain tangible results—the flow of arms to the leftist guerrillas has dropped off sharply in recent weeks, according to intelligence reports—the State Department tried to allay some of the allies' fears by downplaying the Salvadoran situation. Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Bushnell, who has spent much of the past few weeks emphasizing to the press the extent of Soviet bloc support for the rebels, called a briefing to complain, quite contradictorily, that the story was getting "five times" more coverage than it deserved.

The concerns Genscher transmitted to Haig and Reagan were not limited to El Salvador. The Germans are troubled by the more broad-scale breakdown of relations between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Détente is still overwhelmingly supported in West Germany as a prerequisite for peace in Europe. Moreover, the West Germans are a leading beneficiary of East-West trade. Hours before Genscher left for the U.S., his government received a lengthy letter from Leonid Brezhnev reiterating the Soviet President's call for a resumption of arms negotiations, a Soviet-American summit and a moratorium on the deployment of nuclear weapons in Eu-

*They quoted vintage Service to each other from *The Cremation of Sam McGee*. "There are strange things done in the midnight sun/ By the men who moil for gold;/ The Arctic trails have their secret tales/ That would make your blood run cold."

rope. Brezhnev's letter also went to Reagan and the leaders of other Western countries. The West Germans have rejected, as have the Americans, a moratorium because it would halt NATO's planned Theater Nuclear Force modernization at a time when the Soviets have the strategic upper hand in Europe. But Genscher carried to Washington a recommendation to resume arms negotiations with Moscow as soon as possible, a message other European countries have also sent. Genscher succeeded in getting a U.S. commitment to hold NATO discussions later this month as a step toward resuming East-West arms-limitation talks.

Washington remained wary, meanwhile, of Brezhnev's proposal for a summit meeting.* Though both Canada and West Germany are receptive to the idea, Haig and Reagan persuaded both countries to assent to the American view: such a meeting can occur only after a basic groundwork has been laid at lower levels, and will be contingent on Soviet actions in Afghanistan and during the Polish crisis. The Moscow "peace offensive" is seen by Washington as primarily a propaganda ploy. But Haig agreed at week's end to hold low-level talks promptly with the Soviets.

The Administration last week indicated that it is considering another move to counter the Soviets: giving military aid to rebels in Afghanistan and Angola. In an ABC *News* interview, the President drew a distinction between the U.S. sending arms to the Afghans fighting the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul and Communist countries sending arms to Salvadoran rebels. The Afghans, he said, were not "rebels," they were "freedom fighters ... people fighting for their own country and not wanting to become a satellite of the Soviet Union." Aid to the Afghan rebels has also been suggested by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger.

The Administration plans to send to Congress, perhaps this week, a proposal to repeal the 1976 ban on U.S. assistance for insurgents fighting Angola's Soviet-aligned government. A similar measure, sponsored by Jesse Helms, passed the Senate last year but died in a Senate-House conference. Congressman Stephen Solarz of the House Foreign Affairs Committee plans to fight the measure again. Says Solarz: "If this is the first shot in the President's policy toward Africa, it is sure to backfire."

Meanwhile, TIME has learned that the White House made an important administrative change last week to help it cope with sudden international problems. It has traditionally been the duty of the National Security Adviser to supervise "crisis management" in the situation room during major international incidents. But in the Reagan White House, the NSC adviser has been downgraded, and others —including Haig, Chief of Staff James Baker and Counsellor Edwin Meese —were considered for the situation room post. Haig was eliminated because it was thought best to handle such crises in the White House. Baker and Meese were rejected for fear of sparking a staff rivalry. Last week, Reagan chose George Bush for the job, the first time a Vice President has been used in such a role.

The Administration thus far has cast most international problems in East-West terms. Yet the leaders Reagan has met during the past few weeks—from Britain, France, West Germany, Canada —have agendas that involve a more complex approach to world issues, all of which will need to be coped with. Reagan is far from an assured and polished diplomat, but last week he showed that his charm, and willingness to listen, is appreciated by America's friends and neighbors. He also learned, in his partly successful attempts at coordinating U.S. policy with America's allies, that even the most loyal friends often do not see world issues in the same light. *—By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Laurence I. Barrett/Ottawa and Douglas Brew/Washington*

*Though it is Washington's turn to serve as host to a summit, the Soviets say that Brezhnev, 74, does not travel well, and will probably insist on a neutral site, such as Vienna, if a meeting ever comes about

A Treaty in Trouble

For the past seven years, diplomats from 154 countries have been negotiating the so-called Law of the Sea Treaty, a constitution for the world's oceans. As delegates arrived at U.N. headquarters in New York last week to put what they hoped would be finishing touches on the agreement, the Reagan Administration abruptly announced that it wanted to review the treaty. Then the White House, with no warning, fired acting Chief Negotiator George Aldrich, along with eight members of the bipartisan U.S. delegation.

The Administration claimed that it merely wanted to put its own representatives onto the delegation and that it needed more time to study the treaty. Indeed the agreement's provisions are numerous and complicated: guarantees for freedom of passage on the high seas, recognition of the twelve-mile territorial limit and 200-mile "exclusive economic zone" for coastal nations, safeguards against pollution and, perhaps most important, establishment of an international body to govern the mining of seabed mineral resources. Yet some U.N. observers note that the Reaganauts are deeply suspicious of both the U.N., which they feel is dominated by anti-U.S. elements, and of Elliot Richardson, the liberal Republican who led the first U.S. Law of the Sea delegation and has been a major force in shaping the agreement.

DIANA WALKER

Former Chief Negotiator Elliot Richardson

The treaty's seabed provisions call for a complicated system in which profits would be split between mining companies and developing nations. Some U.S. firms feel they should not have to divide revenues derived from international waters with other countries, and are especially disturbed by a clause that requires them to share technology with Third World nations.

Richardson, who is still a member of the U.S. delegation, counters that all but 14 of the 130 changes that have been made in the seabed mining provision since mid-1977 are favorable to the U.S. Without the treaty, he contends, a mining company would never be able to acquire the legal right to mine a part of the sea bottom. Says Richardson: "It is really a choice between the best possible regime we could negotiate *vs.* the legal uncertainties that would exist in the absence of a treaty."

The Reagan Administration's unexpected delay has created ill will in the U.N. As one Western ambassador puts it, "The world cannot stand still forever waiting on Washington." Some participants fear that the U.S. refusal to sign the treaty may tempt Third World countries to reopen issues in which they made concessions. It is now hoped that a "final" session might be scheduled by summer. After that would come the substantial hurdle of U.S. Senate approval. South Dakota's Larry Pressler, chairman of the subcommittee that would review the treaty, warned Reagan last month that it would have "great difficulty" passing in the Senate in its present form.

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Freeing the CIA

Spooks want to spy at home

During the Viet Nam era, the Central Intelligence Agency collected files on 7,200 American citizens, as it and the FBI tried to link domestic dissenters with foreign plots—an activity that it was not empowered to pursue. After Watergate, and the disclosure of CIA misdeeds, Presidents Ford and Carter issued Executive orders to curb the agency's activities and protect American civil liberties. But Ronald Reagan's election has evidently emboldened the CIA to try to roll back some restrictions. Under consideration is a proposed Executive order that, if signed by the President, would give the CIA extensive domestic power.

The proposal, believed to have been drafted by mid-level career CIA agents, would permit the agency to undertake covert operations within the U.S. and, in fact, spy on American citizens. The CIA would no longer be required to collect information by the "least intrusive means possible," thus making possible warrantless searches, surreptitious entries and infiltration of political organizations.

The push for a new Executive order has been made in the name of combatting terrorism. At a National Security Council meeting held during the first two weeks of the new Administration, some participants stressed that limits put on the CIA had prevented the agency from following suspected terrorists once they had entered the U.S.

Criticism of the proposed order has been sharp. Says Don Edwards, chairman of the House Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee: "This draft order would put the CIA back in the business of domestic spying." The FBI does not like the proposal because it would reduce the bureau's traditional jurisdiction over domestic counterintelligence. Attorney General William French Smith is determined to maintain Justice Department supervision of the CIA. Even top CIA figures have not endorsed the proposal. Vice Admiral Bobby Inman, the agency's deputy director, announced that if "repugnant changes" were made to existing limitations on the CIA, he would resign.

It is doubtful that such "repugnant changes" will occur. Insiders believe that Reagan's final Executive order will be less restrictive than Carter's, but more protective of American freedoms than last week's draft proposal. Interestingly enough, Ronald Reagan, then a private citizen and former Governor, was a member of the presidential commission headed by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in 1975 that recommended many of the present restrictions. The commission's conclusion: "Presidents should refrain from directing the CIA to perform what are essentially internal security tasks." ■

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Bottom-Line Man

There is the trace of the fighter in the face of Donald Regan, the urbane stockbroker polished by the Cambridge Latin School and Harvard. But nevertheless there are the wary eyes, the cleft chin, the crooked nose. It goes even deeper. Inside there are the battle traces from Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Guam and Okinawa. He admits it. "No training for anything except fighting," he says, recalling 1946, when he left the Marines to take on Merrill Lynch. He won that engagement too, rising to the jobs of president in 1968, chairman in 1971. Now he is sitting in the large, sunny office of the Secretary of the Treasury, still athletic and tough and, though roughed up in some of the opening skirmishes of the new Administration's strange war of wealth and poverty, relishing the unfolding national battle.

The brilliance of Axman David Stockman, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, has dazzled the Washington Establishment and led to reports that Regan is a diminished, foundering figure. He does not seem that way. Like a wise division commander, he is moving to meld Stockman, the aggressive strike force chief, into an overall economic command structure that in the end will reflect nothing so much as the will and mind of President Ronald Reagan.

Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan

Donald Regan is a bottom-line man. Individual reputations mean nothing in a failure. "We've come this far now," says Regan. "Ronald Reagan has his chance. Were he not to succeed in his goal, I'm afraid that an awful lot of America's future would be lost along with it."

That larger interest haunts the Treasury Secretary. Says Regan: "Our test is going to be whether or not the average person in the U.S., looking at all the things that he or she is engaged in, will sublimate the one or two things that are important to them for the overall good of everything . . . It is going to take time to get it over. With the Government cutting back, people are going to have to say, well, gee, you know, what am I going to do? Is my county government going to do it? Is my state government going to do it? Who is going to do this for me? And pretty soon it's going to dawn on them that an awful lot is going to have to be done by themselves."

Regan is unabashedly reaching back for the future. His symbol of supply-side economics is Thomas Edison, who developed the light bulb, laid electric lines in New York City and created demand, precisely what the current economic doctrine is attempting.

His history lesson comes from Harry Truman. Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace had predicted that at the end of World War II the Government would have to intervene massively to help create 60 million jobs. "Instead, Harry Truman—bless his soul—decided to go with the free economy," says Regan. "Without understanding economics worth a damn he understood what the country needed economically. He and my predecessor here, John Snyder—the country banker and the country bumpkin—knew more about economics than many sophisticates out of my alma mater or anywhere else. Economics is not a science, it's an art."

Regan's belief that untold riches lie out there for people to discover and create is undimmed, and that probably as much as anything gives him his singular passion. "People say that you can't make wealth any more in this country," he declares with a hint of scorn. "Never believe that." From his Wall Street posts he saw thousands and thousands of people innovate, risk and glean the rewards. Many of them, insists Regan, simply were not noticed in this huge and diverse nation. "The spark is there," the Secretary says, "but it sure as hell hasn't been fanned by anything in Washington." That is what Donald Regan came to Washington to do.

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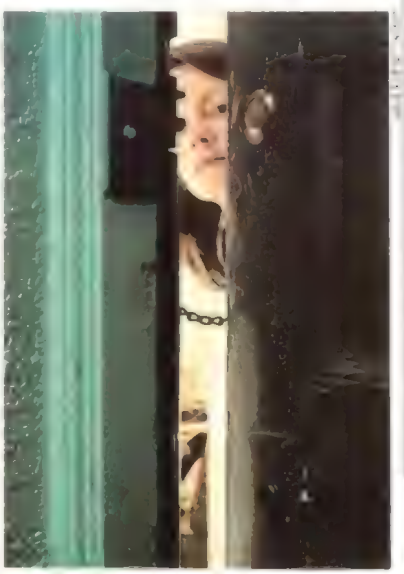
COVER STORIES

The Curse of Violent Crime

A pervasive fear of robbery and mayhem threatens the way America lives

Day by day, America's all too familiar crime clock ticks faster and faster. Every 24 minutes, a murder is committed somewhere in the U.S. Every ten seconds a house is burgled, every seven minutes a woman is raped. There is some truth in the aphorism of Charles Silberman, author of *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*, that "crime is as American as Jesse James." But there is also something new about the way that Americans are killing, robbing, raping and assaulting one another. The curse of violent crime is rampant not just in the ghettos of depressed cities, where it always has been a malignant force to contend with, but everywhere in urban areas, in suburbs and peaceful countrysides. More significant, the crimes are becoming more brutal, more irrational, more random—and therefore all the more frightening.

The nation's top jurist, Chief Justice Warren Burger, warned last month about the "reign of terror in American cities" and bitingly asked: "Are we not hostages within the borders of our own self-styled, enlightened, civilized country?" Some criminologists answer that the fear of becoming a victim of crime is greater than the actual risk, but no one denies that the fear is real. Proclaimed the *Figgie Report*, a privately funded study of crime in the U.S.: "The fear of crime is slowly paralyzing American society." Observes Houston Police Chief B.K. Johnson: "We have allowed ourselves to degenerate to the point where we're living like animals. We live behind burglar bars and throw a collection of door locks at night and set an alarm and lay down with a loaded shotgun beside the bed and then try to get some rest. It's ridiculous." The chief knows whereof he speaks; he keeps several loaded guns in his bedroom.



Attorney General William French Smith has declared that the Justice Department will place a new and high priority on fighting violent crime. He appointed an outside task force, headed by former Attorney General Griffin Bell and Illinois Governor James Thompson, to figure out what the Federal Government can do about what has traditionally been a local and state responsibility. Smith also cited, from a new Justice Department study on the prevalence of crime, a telling statistic that helps explain the growing public concern: roughly one out of every three households in the U.S. was directly affected by some kind of serious crime last year. Rare is the American who does not personally know at least one victim of violence.

In reaction to the spreading fear, Americans are arming themselves with guns as though they still lived in frontier days. "It's the Matt Dillon syndrome," says Jack Wright Jr., a criminologist at Loyola University in New Orleans. "People believe the police can't protect them." They are buying guard dogs and supplies of Mace. Locksmiths and burglar-alarm businesses are flourishing, as are classes in karate and target shooting. Banks have long waiting lists for vacated safety-deposit boxes. Many city sidewalks are a muggers' mecca at night; the elderly dread

walking anywhere, even in broadest daylight. The fear of street crime is changing the way America lives.

But what is the reality that spawns the fear? Crime statistics have always been notoriously suspect. Many victims shun police, the courts or publicity and never report the violence or thievery they have encountered. While murders are almost always recorded, rape is understandably underreported. The FBI collects its Uniform Crime Reports from local police departments, which often have reason to juggle the figures. A proud chief may want his city to look under control, reflecting on the effectiveness of the force he commands. A bitter chief, angry at funding or manpower cuts, may blacken the statistics to apply pressure for more help. Recalls Patrick Murphy, president of the Police Foundation in Washington, D.C.: "When I was a rookie in the 72nd precinct in Brooklyn, no police commander worth his salt would admit he couldn't control crime—and he proved it by controlling crime statistics."

While the rate of increase in violent crimes (murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault and robbery) has varied through the 1970s, the trend in crimes per 100,000 people has been relentlessly upward. The FBI's figures placed that rate in 1970 at 363.5; it was up to 535.5 in 1979, the last year in which the tabulation is complete. Of those four crimes, murder jumped to 9.7 per 100,000 in 1979. The record, set in 1974, was 9.8, but that figure, according to early estimates, apparently was passed last year. Roughly one-third of those killings were committed by someone the victim had never met—and it is the unknown marauder lurking in the shadows who contributes most to the climate of fear.

Some experts on crime argue that "victimization" studies, in which Justice Department researchers use scientific polling techniques to sample the population, are more reliable than the FBI's annual counts. The department's studies, in which people are asked to respond anonymously to their personal encounters with violence, show surprisingly little year-by-year overall variations in crime rates. The changes they do report, like a 13.7% increase in rape between 1973 and 1979, are hardly comforting. Notes Charles Kinderman, a researcher at the Bureau of Justice Statistics: "Our figures do not show a new crime wave—but they show there's a hell of a lot of crime." Predicts Harry Scarr, former director of the bureau: "Within four or five years every household in the country will be hit by crime."

One Week's Murder Victims

March 8-14, 1981

In an average week, some 400 Americans are murdered. Most are fatalities in family quarrels and neighborhood arguments, drug wars and gang rivalries. But one-third are slain by strangers, often without reason. On the following pages, a gallery of a few of last week's victims:

MARGARET DUDLEY, 61

Secretary, Detroit

She was robbed and then beaten to death in the basement of the church where she worked. Police arrested a 17-year-old youth and charged him with the murder.

RANDOLPH WRIGHT, 55

Garage manager, Houston

He accused a boyhood friend, Waldo Quarles, of running over his cat. As the argument flared, Quarles pulled out a gun and shot Wright. Quarles was arrested.

[illegible], 61

Businessman, Memphis

Owner of a wall-covering company, he was held up in his store's parking lot at 6 p.m. by a gunman. He was shot in the head as he grabbed for the weapon. No arrest

Many local statistics support the widespread belief that violent crime is soaring. Figures for the first six months of 1980 showed that New York City probably had its worst year in history. Serious crimes ran some 60% above the national average, pushing it from fourth to second, behind St. Louis, in crimes per 100,000 people. New York topped the nation in its robbery rate and in 1980 had a record number of murders: 1,814. If the rate is unchanged, predicts an M.I.T. study, one out of every 61 babies born in the city last year can expect to die at the hands—or gun—of a killer

Los Angeles recorded an increase in every violent category in 1980: murder up 27%, armed robberies 20%, burglaries 16%, rape 10%. Moans Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates: "It was the worst year ever in my 32 years as a police officer." Miami police, embattled by drugs, Cuban exiles and racial friction, admit they are losing the struggle against crime even with the addition of some 100 state troopers sent into Dade County to help. Homicides in Miami surged 60% in 1980; robberies rocketed 80% upward.

Victim of a shooting outside liquor store in Hollywood

"Are we not hostages within our own civilized country?"

Atlanta's 60% black population has been terrified by the wanton and unsolved slayings of black children. President Reagan last week announced that the city's request for an extra $1.5 million, on top of nearly $1 million in federal funds already approved, would be granted to help carry on the investigation of the killings. Twenty bodies have been recovered, but the potential number of victims grew to 22 when the name of Joseph Bell, 15, who had been missing since March 3, was added to the list. Atlanta has a worsening problem in other crimes as well. The city's black police chief, George Napper, who has a Ph.D. in criminology, sees his job in grim cartoon-like terms. Says he: "When you're up to your ass in alligators, it's hard to remember your purpose is draining the swamp."

Houston and Dallas also are outdoing their brutal past, setting new violent crime records. Washington, D.C., suffered an 11% rise in homicides. New Orleans has replaced Houston as the nation's most murderous city, with a rate of 23 per 100,000 in the first half of 1980.

What scares much of middle-class America is that violence and stealing are breeding almost as fast in the suburbs as in the inner city. As more and more husbands and wives hold down jobs, their unoccupied homes make tempting daytime targets for burglars. The high price of silverware and gold jewelry adds to the lure. The thieves are often the unattended sons of working couples who, say police, steal to keep up with the rising cost of marijuana. Arrests for violent crimes in the suburbs climbed 7.4% in 1979.

Violent crimes in once tranquil rural areas also increased by 13% last year. "Many residents now live in fear of returning to an empty, isolated home," says Sheriff Robert L. Howard of Tompkins County in upstate New York. "The open-door policy of a decade ago is gone." The fact that almost everyone knows his neighbor has long been a protection in the countryside. Murders, muggings or shootings have not notably increased, but house break-ins and auto and farm-equipment thefts have risen dramatically. One definite trend: thieves from urban areas ranging hundreds of miles to loot rural homes.

In some of the small energy boomtowns of the West, crime rates are climbing wildly. Rifles hanging from the back windows of pickup trucks have become special targets for thieves. In Douglas, Wyo. (pop. 6,000), a four-year-old girl wandered from her house and was found stabbed and strangled. Said Douglas Police Chief Kyle Sowell: "People realize that murder is now something that just doesn't happen some place else. It was a crime against everyone. It's drawn the whole community together."

For each crime that creates those statistics there is a victim whose life has been ended, painfully altered or traumatically affected. No sampling can span the full range of outrage or reflect all the victims' agony, but here are some examples:

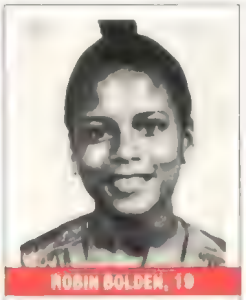
Burglary in the Country. Vivian and Al Weber lived in Battle Creek, Mich., working 6:30 a.m.–to–3 p.m. shifts in two different factories—and hating city life. In 1976 they realized what Mrs. Weber calls "our dream, our lifelong dream," moving to a 50-acre site near the tiny village of Burlington and commuting 35 minutes to work. "Everything we had, we put into this home," she recalls. One afternoon the Webers came home to find "glass all over. They'd smashed the window into the kitchen. Everything was gone through —every drawer, every room."

Mrs. Weber felt that their house had been sullied. "I scrubbed the walls. I took

ALEJANDRO FREYRE, 25

Security guard, Oakland

Dressed in his uniform but unarmed, he was shot once through the heart as he left his apartment for work at 10 p.m. He staggered 100 ft. before collapsing. No arrest.



ROBIN BOLDEN, 19

Unemployed, Chicago

Mother of a month-old baby, she left her family home for a party one night but never returned: she was found strangled in a garage a block from home. No arrest.

STEVE BOSTIC, 21

Autoworker, Detroit

After three strangers stopped and helped him jump-start his car, they demanded $10. When he offered only $5, one of the men opened fire. No arrest.

MARGARET BENNETT, 82

Maid, Miami Beach

Returning home with the Sunday papers, she was suddenly attacked by a crazed neighbor who emptied his .22 revolver into her head and chest. Suspect arrested.

HAROLD BURGESS, 47

Storeowner, Sunland, Ca.

Knocking on an acquaintance's door, he was greeted by a shotgun blast and revolver shots. The friend claimed self-defense, and a gun was found on Burgess's body.

the curtains down and washed them. I would open a drawer to put on clean clothes and think about my personal things. 'Oh, God, I've got to wash them I don't know who had their hands on them.' " She and her husband took different shifts so one of them would always be home. They started locking their doors, even if one of them was merely going out to the garden

Eventually they decided to work the same hours again. Al got home first one day and met Vivian outside the door He was white as a sheet "Honey," he said, "we've been ripped off again." This time the burglars took some of the items the Webers had bought as replacements—and keepsakes as well "They've got us timed," thought Mrs Weber. "They know when we go and when we come home." She quit work and would not even go shopping unless Al was home. He gave up his annual hunting trips. They put dead-bolt locks on all the outside doors, wired a back-room window with a siren, and even bought a third car to park as a decoy in the driveway if they could not avoid being gone at the same time.

The Webers placed their dream house up for sale, then reconsidered "I have friends here who are more like family than friends," she explains. But their lives have changed. "I try to be normal, but I'm afraid. I have turned around and driven 15 miles back home because I had a funny feeling in my stomach. I feel watched constantly I never feel safe"

Brutality in Phoenix. Suzanne Marie Rossetti, 26, a technician at a burn treatment center in Phoenix, had attended a performance of *Dancin'* at Arizona State University. On her way home, she drove into a grocery-store parking lot, and mistakenly locked her car with the keys inside. Two young white men helpfully unlocked the door, asked for a short lift—then forced her to drive to her apartment, where they beat and raped her for several hours

According to Phoenix Police Detective Richard Tuqua, the men then drove 50 miles to an isolated desert area and hurled Suzanne off a cliff They heard her moaning and climbed down to her side She pleaded with them to leave her alone because, she said, "I'm dying anyway The response was swift. "Damn right you are," one of the men said, and picked up a large rock and crushed her head to still her sounds

Rape in Galveston. Marsha Walker, 30, asked a woman friend to stay with her while her husband, a doctor, was out of town. She heard her two dogs barking at 2:30 a.m. outside the Walkers' second-story garage apartment in a historic section of Galveston, Texas. She was not alarmed; there were three locks on the front door, there was no back door, and the apartment was 18 ft. above ground level. But as she went to check an open window, a bare-chested black man wearing an Arab-style kaffiyeh over his head pressed a knife to her throat. He ransacked the apartment, put pillowcases over both women's heads, and raped the friend

After that night of terror, Mrs. Walker, a magazine editor, began carrying a .45-cal. pistol. She and her husband put new locks on their windows and set up lights around the yard. When alone, she slept with all the lights in the apartment turned on. A few weeks after the attack, she returned from a brief vacation to find a makeshift ladder at one of their apartment windows and the screens ripped. But the prowler, whom Mrs. Walker assumes was the rapist bent on another attack, was heard by a friend of the Walkers' and fled as police arrived

Victims don't stop being victims when the police leave," says Mrs. Walker. "Violence is disabling It changes your life for years." The Walkers have moved from the apartment, and she says, "I will never set foot there again. The anger, the dread and the fear are receding. But the rapist is still in my head. I don't think he will ever go away"

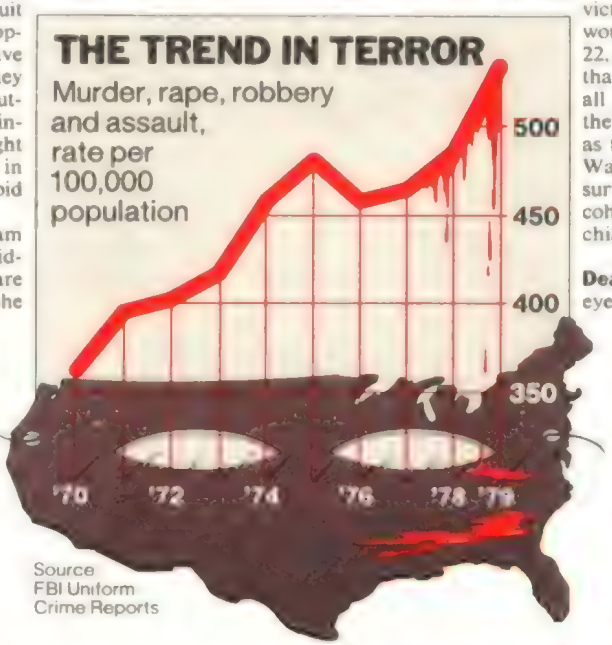
Gang Shooting in Chicago. Steven Watts had everything to live for. A 6-ft. 3-in., 212-lb. lineman, he had been named the outstanding defensive football player in Chicago public high schools and had been given an athletic scholarship by Iowa State University. He was walking home from a Friday-night dance at Julian High with several friends when a car carrying three youths passed. The trio, who were members of a black street gang, apparently thought Watts and his friends, also black, belonged to a rival gang, and began shooting. Running for cover, Watts was hit in the back by one bullet and died before he reached a hospital. Said his coach, Gregory Brooks: "He was a kid who had worked hard all his life for something and was about to get it. Then it's all taken away by some fool with a gun"

Mass Murder in Los Angeles. A waitress was fired from her job at Bob's Big Boy Restaurant in West Los Angeles because she had made a false injury claim. A few months later, at 2:30 a.m., two of her friends arrived at the café with a sawed-off shotgun, a standard shotgun and a .32-cal. pistol. After forcing nine employees and two customers into a meat freezer and ordering them to kneel facing the wall, the gunmen began shooting. Three of the victims were killed; five were wounded. Franklin Freeman Jr., 22, Ricky Sanders, 25, and Carletha Stewart, 19, the fired waitress, all black, have been charged with the murders. Identifying the men as the killers at a pretrial hearing, Waitress Rhonda Robinson, 19, a survivor of the shooting, became incoherent; she is now under a psychiatrist's care

Death in Detroit. Pretty, bright-eyed Keisha Jackson, who was 13 and black, swung her roller skates and laughed with a group of friends after a lively evening at Detroit's Wheels Disco Roller Center. A 16-year-old black boy watched the group go by and squeezed the trigger of his stolen .32-cal handgun. Keisha fell to the sidewalk, a bullet in her brain and died a few days later. The boy has not explained to the police why he shot at the happy party

Fear in a Small Town. Strasburg, Va., is arguing with the U.S. Census Bureau that its official population count of 2,288 people is too low. But the Shenandoah Valley town has one resident it does not want: a ski-masked white man who has entered eight or more homes, usually just after the husband has left for work in the morning, and raped at least two women Joann Orndorff, 33, white, was saved when her German shepherd-Labrador retriever, Tippy, attacked the rapist. Mrs Orndorff, like a score of other Strasburg women, now owns a handgun

A few nights after the attack, a man unknown to Mrs. Orndorff called her. "He asked me if I was scared and I said, 'Who are you?' " His reply: "You know me. Everyone knows me. I paid you a little visit the other night and I'm not done with you yet. No dog is gonna stop me the next time." Recalls Mrs. Orndorff, a mother of three: "That got me mad. I told him a 22 would stop him." She is sure there have been unreported rapes in Strasburg, ex-



plaining: "If I'd been raped, I wouldn't have told anyone. This is a small town and people run their mouths."

"Thrill Kills" in Pittsburgh. Michael Travaglia and John Lesko, both white and 22, have pleaded guilty to murder and face death sentences, but they show no remorse. In a five-day spree they kidnaped Peter Levato, 49, an unemployed security guard, in downtown Pittsburgh, attempted to drown him in the Loyalhanna creek, then shot him fatally. Next they abducted Marlene Sue Newcomer, 26, and shot her to death in their van; her body and the abandoned vehicle were found in a Pittsburgh parking garage.

Travaglia and Lesko met William C. Nicholls, 32, a church organist, at a downtown hotel. They commandeered his sports car and drove to Blue Spruce Lake outside Pittsburgh; they shot him, weighted him with rocks, and dropped him through a hole in the ice while he was still alive. Finally they sped past Patrolman Leonard Miller's squad car three times, until he gave chase and stopped them. They shot Miller dead at the side of the highway. After their conviction for his murder, Travaglia leaned over a courtroom rail and asked Prosecutor Tim Geary: "Are you happy? I'll be back to get you."

Terror in Birmingham. Ernest Nunnally, 80, a retired refrigeration mechanic, and his wife Perry, 76, both white, were sitting in their 57-year-old house in a blue-collar neighborhood of Birmingham when two young white men pounded on their door. "You come out here," one said to Nunnally. "We don't want the woman. We want you." Peering out, Nunnally thought he saw one of the men holding a rope or chain. As they pulled on the door, breaking its bolt, Nunnally grabbed a gun and fired through a curtained door window.

Next day Nunnally learned that his shots had struck John Allen Reeves, 20, and Walter Franklin Shook, 19. Reeves' wound was slight, but Shook was paralyzed from the chest down. He has filed a $1 million suit against the Nunnallys for the shooting, although the police have ruled it a justifiable act of self-defense. Now the Nunnallys are terrified; they sit up most nights with the lights turned off and wait in the dark with a .22-cal. rifle. They have thought of moving away. "But it's bad everywhere now, and we've got good neighbors," says Mrs. Nunnally. "We're close to the stores and the hospital. So where would we move?"

One response to this surge of mindless cruelty has been a spectacular and, in the view of most police officers, alarming increase in the purchase of handguns by fearful citizens. A few police departments, such as those in Moore, Okla., Hialeah, Fla., and suburban New Orleans, have bowed to the inevitable and are holding classes in how to use guns. They hope to decrease the chances that the members of a family with a gun in the house will themselves be shot rather than wounding an intruder—odds that now run against the family about 6 to 1.

Some experts argue that the profusion of handguns makes life easier for criminals. Guns stolen by burglars have often been used later in holdups and armed robberies. Moreover, many prosecutors warn that the law is not always on the potential victim's side. Careless and indiscriminate firing at a suspected intruder can be considered criminal. Still, insists Los Angeles Police Officer Loren Zimmerman: "I would rather be judged by twelve than carried by six." In any case, the arming of America is now out of control. One startling sign: making a spot check one recent night, private guards at a Memphis nightclub found 32 patrons carrying guns.

GREGORY SYLVESTER, 17

Student, Las Vegas

He became involved in an argument with a man over a just completed basketball game. Sylvester was stabbed in the chest, the side and the back. Suspect arrested.

KENNY BLACK, 20

Steelworker, Charlotte

While strolling through a public housing project with a friend, he was suddenly attacked by four men and shot. The friend was uninjured. No arrest.

Women are crowding into classes on the use of tear gas, contained in tiny canisters that can be hooked on to key chains. One important lesson: how to use the gas before an assailant turns it against the victim. As Los Angeles Police Sergeant John McCarthy puts it: "Being aggressive is kind of hard for a lot of people." After attending one such class, Patricia Sherman, 29, a lawyer, complained: "I think this incites fear in people. I wasn't as scared before as I am now." But another class member, Phillip Heffernan, 30, contends: "If the crooks knew that 90% of people had Mace cans, I think they would go into other lines of work."

Neighborhood watch groups are springing up in most large cities, often with the enthusiastic support of police. These groups try to get to know who belongs in a neighborhood and who the chronic troublemakers are, and they keep an eye on suspicious strangers. Many have car patrols that stay in touch by CB radio. The watch groups usually avoid confronting a potential criminal but call the police.

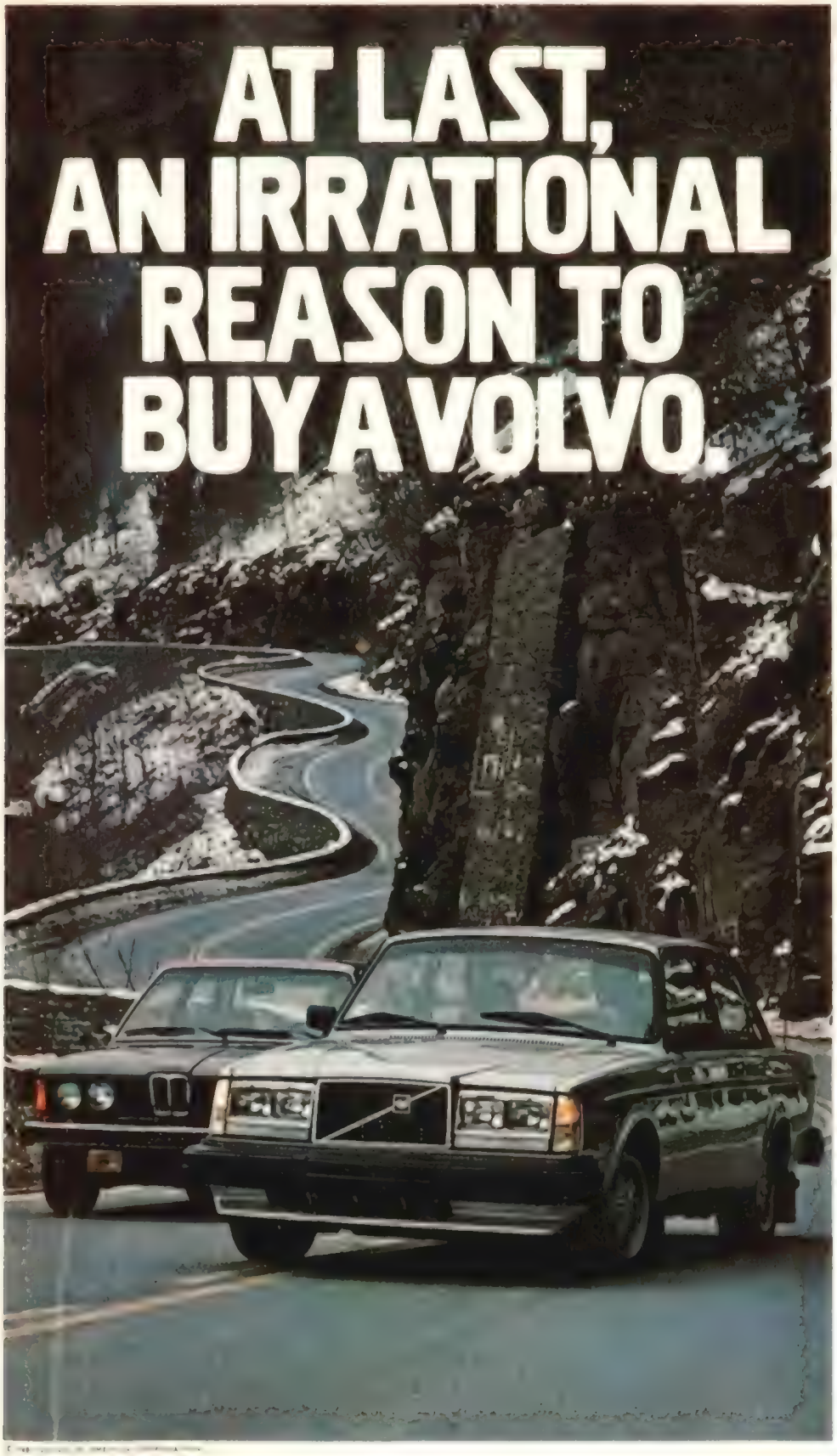
There is little doubt that the police need help, particularly at a time when the fiscal crisis has caused manpower cutbacks. "Police officers feel embattled," says Sergeant Jim Moad, a 16-year veteran of the Los Angeles force. "We're getting it from all sides. The attitude is 'It's me and my partner against the world.' All every cop is trying to do is survive until he can retire." Detective Myron Ludvick of New York's harassed force admits that it is difficult to forget about his own survival. "You have to be able to tune that out. But it's there. It's there when you're at a funeral for one of your former colleagues." (Nine New York police officers were killed by criminals in 1980.)

Who are the increasingly brutal marauders responsible for random assaults and murders? Streetwise cops have no difficulty sizing up the psychology of their enemies. "They are mean, antisocial people with macho complexes," says Memphis Police Director E. Winslow Chapman. Observes New York's Ludvick: "They're people who are playing 'Can you top this?' They sit around and say, 'You stuck a guy up? Big deal. I got the bread, then to show him I wasn't just kidding around, I shot him three times.' And the guy next to him says, 'Well, you think that's bad? I took a shot and blew the dude's head off.' " Adds Atlanta Police Chief Napper: "There are a lot of young guys who just don't care, who go out and blow people away just for the hell of it." Chief Gates of Los Angeles takes a somewhat broader view. "We've lost a whole generation," he says. "Totally lost. No self-discipline. Total indulgence. Drugs. Lack of respect for the law. Lack of respect for values. A whole generation thumbed its nose at everything that was held sacred in this country. America has to take a look at its heart and its soul."

Criminologists agree that drugs contribute heavily to violent crime; some claim that nearly half of all street crimes are drug related. Drug users either rob and mug to get money to support their habit, or lash out irrationally under the influence of their narcotics.

There can be no blinking away the fact that blacks are disproportionately involved in violent crime—both as offenders and victims. Although blacks constitute only 12% of the U.S. population, they make up 48% of the prison population. Civil rights groups insist that the judicial system is racially biased, but the evidence is not convincing. In violent crimes committed by a single person, the victims in a quarter of the cases claim that the attacker was black. Most crimes involve victims and criminals of the same race. That is true of 83% of all assaults and 70% of all single-offender rapes and robberies.

What this means is that blacks suffer unduly from the rising crime rates, especially in big city ghettos. Murder is now



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So, sadly, people who pick their cars for more emotional reasons may have denied themselves the satisfaction of driving one.

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COURVOISIER VSOP. THE BRANDY OF NAPOLEON

the leading cause of death among black males 24 to 34. (For white males in that age group, it is car and motorcycle accidents.) Black men are eight times as likely to die in a homicide as are white men. Says Lynn Curtis, former director of the Interagency Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program: "The typical violent crime involves two young black males who know each other and get into trivial altercations, which lead to serious injury because they both have weapons."

Ironically, there seems to be less alarm about crime in high-risk black neighborhoods than in white areas where crime is lower. Contends Northwestern University Associate Professor Wesley Skogan: "Our studies show an inverse relationship between fear and levels of crime. People who live in the areas of least crime are often the most fearful."

There are few reliable statistics on Hispanics involved in crimes, since states and localities tend to classify them differently. Generally, they commit proportionately more crimes than do whites and fewer than do blacks, and they are victimized in this midrange too. In California, where 16% of the population are Hispanic, they constitute 19% of the prison inmates. Like other ethnic groups, they tend to join neighborhood gangs. In Hartford, Conn., so many newly arrived young teen-agers from Puerto Rico have become victims of gang warfare that some parents have sent them back to the island for their own safety.

Statistics also show that young people commit most of the violent crime in America. Fully 57% of all arrests for such offenses in 1979 were of criminals under the age of 25; one-fifth were under 18. Although the female prison population doubled through the 1970s, women account for relatively few violent crimes: about 11% of all such arrests in 1979.

For all the arguments among law officers and criminologists about what the statistics really mean, there is widespread agreement on one point: a large share of all violent crime is committed by a surprisingly small group of hard-core criminals. One study of repeat offenders in Washington, D.C., showed that 7% of the criminals arrested in a 4½-year period had been apprehended four times—and this 7% accounted for 24% of all the serious crimes considered solved in those years. In one startling example, in suburban Evanston, Ill., the arrest of one burglar cleared up 163 breakins. Says Evanston Police Chief William McHugh: "Eighteen hundred burglaries doesn't mean we had 1,800 burglars." The fact that the repeaters are released to strike again and again says a lot about the nation's system of criminal justice *(see following story)*.

Increasingly, the vast majority of America's law-abiding citizens are being held hostage to the irrational acts of a relatively small cadre of career criminals. Declares New York Police Commissioner Robert McGuire: "Street crime is the most serious thing we face today. It has an enormous impact on the quality of people's lives. It determines where we walk, what time we walk, even whether we play bingo at night and whether we go to the theater." Sums up San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein: "Crime can be as paralyzing as any autocrat if, as it increasingly does, it imprisons citizens in their homes because they fear to venture outside."

But those who stand on the front lines of the battle against crime insist all Americans must break out of their fortresses and join the fight—not in a physical way, which is foolhardy, but in a search for solutions. Drugs can be slowed, guns can be curbed, the criminal justice system can be improved, they say, if enough citizens turn their fear and anger into the kind of public pressure that will make a difference. Above all, the experts argue, citizens must care about their neighbors' safety as well as their own. Perhaps for too long America has persisted in the pattern Alexis de Tocqueville noted so long ago: a nation where "each person, living apart, is as a stranger to the fate of all the rest." *—By Ed Magnuson. Reported by Peter Stoler/New York and Evan Thomas/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus*

If It Happens to You . . .

You are walking alone on a deserted street late at night. Suddenly a stranger steps from the shadows and jabs a sharp object in your ribs. "Gimme your wallet," he demands.

What should you do?

Do not resist. Immediately hand over your wallet, your watch, your jewelry and anything else the mugger wants. That is the primary survival tip given by law-enforcement officials across the nation to potential victims of armed street criminals. Says officer Michael Sansky of the Los Angeles police department: "If he's got a weapon, you go along with whatever he says. You're not going to gouge out an eye or kick out a knee if he's armed."

Even if you are carrying a gun or a can of Mace, advise police officials, don't try to use them. By the time you have reached for your pocket, an armed robber will have had time to kill you. For much the same reason, do not attempt to use karate or judo against the mugger. Even expert fighters are not skilled enough to disarm a mugger unless the element of surprise is on their side. Admits Gerry Armstrong, 31, of Miramar, Fla., a martial-arts instructor with 19 years of experience: "If someone pulls a gun and tells me to hand up my wallet, he can have it. A bullet travels faster than my foot."

Can of Mace

Do not attempt to negotiate for some of your belongings: the longer you delay the mugger, the more impatient, and more violent, he is likely to become. If you are held up in an isolated area, do not scream. Chances are that no one will hear your cries for help, and they will only enrage—or perhaps even worse, frighten—the mugger. Do not make any sudden moves when reaching for your wallet or purse; a jittery mugger may misunderstand and attack you. Instead, tell him in advance what you plan to do and then move slowly. Always carry some cash with you. If your pockets are empty, some muggers will turn violent out of sheer frustration. Says Detective Ray Southerland of the Dade County public safety department: "Never give an armed robber the excuse he is looking for to work you over."

Dealing with a rapist requires a different strategy. Some police officials suggest that a woman should first try to talk her way out of the assault. "Get as close to him as you can and start talking," says Shilah Johnson, a Los Angeles police officer who lectures on rape-defense techniques. "Say anything you like, but don't put him down." Some women have escaped rape by pleading that they are pregnant, menstruating or have a venereal disease. Other experts contend that talk is useless; Patsy Klaus, a researcher at the Justice Department's National Institute of Justice, believes "a sudden violent scream" is better. Tears, however, are likely to heighten a rapist's sadistic impulses. One possible deterrent is for the victim to try to disgust the attacker by putting a finger down her throat to induce vomiting, or by urinating or defecating. Finally, however, a woman may have no choice. Says Klaus: "If I saw it was hopeless, I'd submit rather than be brutally injured."

The best defense against muggers and rapists is to avoid places where they might lurk. Common sense says never to walk alone at night or to pick up hitchhikers. If, however, you do suddenly feel a gun or cold knife against your neck, stay as calm as possible. "Try not to panic," says Captain Ephirne F. Leija of the Houston police department. "Do the best you can under a difficult situation. Above all, don't try to be a hero."

Why the Justice System Fails

Inefficient ways of coping with a handful of "savages"

Anyone who claims it is impossible to get rid of the random violence of today's mean streets may be telling the truth, but is also missing the point. Street crime may be normal in the U.S., but it is not inevitable at such advanced levels, and the fact is that there are specific reasons for the nation's incapacity to keep its street crime down. Almost all these reasons can be traced to the American criminal justice system. It is not that there are no mechanisms in place to deal with American crime, merely that the existing ones are impractical, inefficient, anachronistic, uncooperative, and often lead to as much civic destruction as they are meant to curtail.

Why does the system fail? For one thing, the majority of criminals go untouched by it. The police learn about one-quarter of the thefts committed each year, and about less than half the robberies, burglaries and rapes. Either victims are afraid or ashamed to report crimes, or they may conclude gloomily that nothing will be done if they do. Murder is the crime the police do hear about, but only 73% of the nation's murders lead to arrest. The arrest rates for lesser crimes are astonishingly low—59% for aggravated assault in 1979, 48% for rape, 25% for robbery, 15% for burglary.

Even when a suspect is apprehended, the chances of his getting punished are mighty slim. In New York State each year there are some 130,000 felony arrests; approximately 8,000 people go to prison. There are 94,000 felony arrests in New York City; 5,000 to 6,000 serve time. A 1974 study of the District of Columbia came up with a similar picture. Of those arrested for armed robbery, less than one-quarter went to prison. More than 6,000 aggravated assaults were reported; 116 people were put away. A 1977 study of such cities as Detroit, Indianapolis and New Orleans produced slightly better numbers, but nothing to counteract the exasperation of New York Police Commissioner Robert McGuire: "The criminal justice system almost creates incentives for street criminals."

It is hard to pinpoint any one stage of the system that is more culpable than any other. Start with the relationship between police and prosecutors. Logic would suggest that these groups work together like the gears of a watch since, theoretically, they have the same priorities: to arrest and convict. But prosecutors have enormous caseloads, and too often they simply focus on lightening them. Or they work too fast and lose a case; or they plea-bargain and diminish justice. The police also work too fast too often, are concerned with "clearing" arrests, for which they get credit. They receive no credit for convictions. Their work gets sloppy—misinformation recorded, witnesses lost, no follow-up. That 1974 study of the District of Columbia indicated that fully one-third of the police making arrests failed to process a single conviction. A study released this week of 2,418 police in seven cities showed that 15% were credited with half the convictions; 31% had no convictions whatever.

The criminal justice system is also debased by plea bargaining. At present nine out of ten convictions occur because of a guilty plea arrived at through a deal between the state and defendant, in which the defendant forgoes his right to trial. Of course, plea bargaining keeps the courts less crowded and doubtless sends to jail, albeit for a shorter stretch, some felons who might have got off if judged by their peers. And many feel that a bargain results in a truer level of justice, since prosecutors tend to hike up the charge in the first place in anticipation of the defendant's copping a plea. Still, there are tricks like "swallowing the gun"—reducing the charge of armed robbery to unarmed robbery—that are performed for expediency, not for justice.

"Justice delayed is justice denied," is a root principle of common law, but nowadays the right to a speedy trial is so regularly denied that the thought seems antique. Last Aug. 1, a witness was prepared to testify that Cornelius Wright, 18, shot him five times in the chest, stomach and legs. Because of a series of mishaps and continuances, Wright has been stewing in the Cook County jail for more than eight months. In fact, Wright's delay is the norm; eight months is the average time between arrest and trial. Continuances have so clogged Chicago's courts that the city's Crime Commission issues a monthly "Ten Most Wanted Dispositions" list in an effort to prod the system.

Detroit Deputy Police Chief James Bannon believes that trial delays work against the victim. "The judge doesn't see the hysterical, distraught victim. He sees a person who comes into court after several months or years who is totally different. He sees a defendant that bears no relationship to what he appeared to be at the time of the crime. He sits there in a nice three-piece suit and keeps his mouth shut. And the judge doesn't see the shouting, raging animal the victim saw when she was being raped, for example. Both the defendant and victim have lawyers, and that's what the court

GEORGE COLE, 62

Custodian, Washington

At 4:30 a.m., as he headed for the bus to go to work, he was shot six times in an apparent robbery attempt. He died only three doors away from his home. No arrest.

CAROL NIXON THEBAUT, 39

Realtor, Lake Park, Fla.

As she sat alone in her office eating lunch, a man entered and shot her once in the head. Police arrested a 27-year-old gardener, fired by her two weeks before.

RONALD FITZER, 31

Dentist, Seattle

Sitting in his car at 2 a.m. on a city street, apparently lost, he was approached by two men who picked a fight. He was stabbed twice. Suspects arrested.

JOHN HICKS, 37

Unemployed, Chicago

While visiting his brother, he got involved in a quarrel with his brother's girlfriend, who seized a butcher knife and stabbed him in the abdomen. Suspect arrested.

WILLIAM HILBORN, 72

Retired, Petersburg, Ind.

Returning from evening church services with his wife Mary, 65, he surprised a burglar in their home. Both Hilborns were stabbed three times. No arrest.

hears: law. It doesn't hear the guts of the crime."

Procedural concerns can cause delays, and in rare cases defendants' rights can be carried to absurd extremes. California Attorney General George Deumejian tells of Willie Edward Level, who was convicted of beating a Bakersfield College woman student to death with a table leg. Level was informed of his right to remain silent and/or have an attorney present (the *Miranda* ruling). He waived these rights and confessed the murder. Yet the California Court of Appeals threw out the conviction because Level had asked to speak to his mother at the time of his arrest and had not been permitted to; had he been able to do so, it was argued, he might not have made his confession.

"There's nothing in *Miranda* that says a defendant has the right to talk with his mother or a friend," says Deumejian. "It says he can talk to a lawyer or not at all. It's so much of this kind of thing that makes a mockery of the system. And every time you have one of these rulings it has the effect of dragging out the length of cases, which builds in more and more delays. We've got a murder case in Sacramento that's been in the pretrial state for four years."

Add to this the fact that witnesses are discouraged and lost by trial delays. In New York the average number of appearances a witness has to make in a given disposition is 17. Few people have the time or stamina to see a case through.

Then there is the matter of bail. In a recent speech before the American Bar Association, Chief Justice Warren Burger argued for tightening the standards for releasing defendants on bail, which seems justifiable. But the subject is complicated. Technically, judges are supposed to base their decisions about bail strictly on the likelihood of a defendant's appearing for trial. In practice, however, this is mere guesswork, and a great many serious crimes are committed by people out on bail or by bail jumpers, who are often given bail when rearrested. One sound reason for a bail system is to avoid locking

Convicts at prison in upstate New York

Too many loopholes, too much crime

up anyone before he is proved guilty. But it is simply unrealistic to disregard the criterion of likely dangerousness, even though it raises serious constitutional questions. It has probably resulted in more tragedies than a different standard would result in denials of civil liberties.

Judges blame the cops, and cops blame the judges. Patrick F. Healy, executive director of the Chicago Crime Commission, says judges are plain lazy. "Last year we did a spot check, and the judges' day on the bench totaled 3 hours 49 minutes." The judges will not concede laziness, but several of the nation's best, like Marvin Frankel, former federal judge in the District Court of Manhattan, admit to a "remarkable lack of consistency" in the judiciary. Judge Lois Forer, a most respected criminal-court justice in Philadelphia, contends that it "simply isn't true" that defendants get off on technicalities. It is just that "the system is overloaded." She also emphasizes the problem of sloppy preparations: "It's truly painful when there's someone you're pretty sure committed a crime, and they [police, prosecutors] don't bring in the evidence."

Almost every critic of the system cites the lack of prison space. Despite the enormously high operating costs ($4 billion annually for all U.S. penal institutions), more prison space is an absolute necessity. New York State has between 22,000 and 24,000 jail cells. All are filled, some beyond proper capacity. Twice this year local officials in Missouri were asked not to send any more inmates to the state penitentiary. As a result the St. Louis county jail had to retain seven prisoners who ought to have been in the state pen even though it meant holding eleven more inmates than the jail was intended to hold. Florida, which already has a higher proportion of its citizenry under lock and key than any other state, may need to spend $83 million on new prison construction and staff. This month 223 supposedly nonviolent inmates of Illinois' 13 prisons were given early release to make room for 223 newcomers. New York Police Inspector Richard Dillon, one of the nation's most thoughtful law officers, cites lack of prison space as the primary cause of city crime—the ultimate reason for inappropriate plea bargains, premature paroles, careless bail and too brief sentences.

Finally, the criminal justice system fails at its most sensitive level, that of juvenile crime. Until recently few juvenile courts admitted there was such a thing as a bad boy, restricting their vision of youthful offenders to memories of Father Flanagan's Boys Town or to Judge Tom Clark's quaint view that "every boy, in his heart, would rather steal second base than an automobile." In fact, there are several boys these days who would prefer to kill the umpire, and who have done so, only to receive light sentences or none at all. A study by Marvin Wolfgang at the Univer-

LARRY POTTS, 21

Printer, Chicago

Singer in a soul band, he was rehearsing with his group when hit in the back by shots fired through a window. Police arrested a member of a street gang.

LYRIC DAVIS, 27

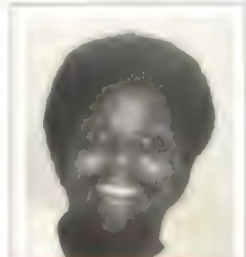
Office worker, Los Angeles

An intruder entered her home one evening and stabbed to death Davis and her five-year-old son Shomari. There was no evidence of forced entry or robbery. No arrest.

CHERYL ANN BUCKLEY, 25

Prostitute, San Jose

Already dead for two days, she was found dumped by the side of a road with a bullet in her chest. After quizzing her friends and customers, police arrested a boyfriend.



BERNARD BEARD, 32

Unemployed, Los Angeles

Attending a birthday party, he was shot twice in the chest by a man who was apparently gunning for one of Beard's friends. Suspect arrested.

JOSEPH L. JOHNSON, 85

Retired, Omaha

When he answered a knock on his door at 8:30 p.m., a stranger asked directions, then shot him once in the head. Two suspects have been arrested.

sity of Pennsylvania traced the criminal careers of 10,000 males born in 1948. By the age of 16, 35% had one arrest, but then almost all stopped committing crimes. A small group, however, did not: 627 had five arrests by the time they were adults. They accounted for two-thirds of all the violent crime attributed to the group and almost all the homicides. "This is the group that society is afraid of, and rightly so," says Wolfgang. He is now studying a new group, born in 1958, which is "even nastier and more violent. We should concentrate on them and capture them as soon as possible."

Of course, there is no place to put this hard core, and that is part of the problem. The main difficulty, however, is a Pollyannish, outdated vision of youth, one that results in treating a child not as a potentially responsible human being but rather as some vague romantic entity, capable of continuous regeneration. An underage murderer may be put away for a few months or not at all. As Harvard's James Q. Wilson says, "The adult system is harsh, but before that it's a free ride." The ride is not only free, but clean. At the age of 18, juvenile criminals in many states start all over with unblemished records no matter how many crimes they have committed earlier.

In short, the criminal justice system is not really a system—at least not one in which the individual parts work well on their own or mesh effectively with each other. Few of the participants deny this, and while there is a natural tendency for each stratum—police, lawyers, prosecutors, judges, prison officials—to lay the blame for the system's failures on one another, nobody is happy with the current situation. Reforming the system, however, is a tricky business, especially when reforms are likely to tend toward severity. "For my part," said Oliver Wendell Holmes in *Olmstead* vs. *U.S.*, "I think it a less evil that some criminals should escape than that the Government should play an ignoble part." Whatever reforms are contemplated, Justice Holmes will preside.

The problem of reform in most areas is not one of principle, but one of efficiency. To be sure, there are many who believe that in order to eliminate crime, one must first eliminate the social ills of poverty, ignorance, racism and the disintegration of the family. But the aim of improving the criminal justice system is not to eliminate crime, but to slow its rate of growth. And there are several relatively straightforward measures, such as more sensible bail procedures, more thorough police work, greater cooperation between police and prosecutors, hiring more judges and building more prisons, that can be taken if the will and money are there.

The more problematic areas of reform are juvenile justice and prison terms—areas in which crime experts go at each other with more passion than proof. Mandatory sentencing, for example, has been proposed by Massachusetts Governor Edward King, as well as many legislators throughout the country. The argument for mandatory sentencing is that it provides a definite deterrent, as the apparent success of the Massachusetts gun law has proved. It also puts judges on the line when they fail to give determinate sentences. The argument against mandatory sentencing is that there will always be exceptional circumstances in which judges must use their discretion. Most judges are naturally opposed to the reform.

The idea of extending prison terms in general has an internal logic, but again history seems to confute it. The average prison term has risen from 18 to 35 months since 1965, precisely the time when national crime began to get out of hand. As soon as former New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller won passage of a stiff drug law, narcotics-related property crime rose. A Rand Corp. report on career criminals says that a 70% increase in the number of robbers sent to prison would produce a 20% reduction in robberies. To effect that decrease in New York City, where 2,000 robbers are imprisoned each year, would mean an annual increase of 1,400 convicts.

STEPHEN BROWN

A suspect is arrested in the District of Columbia

The present criminal justice system handcuffs everyone.

Still, those who argue for more certain penalties are not necessarily arguing for longer ones across the board or for mandatory sentences for any but hardened and habitual offenders. The reasonableness of a recent statement by the Citizens Crime Commission of New York is compelling: "Unless we make the punishment for serious crime more certain and more appropriate, we cannot expect any respite from the violence now engulfing the city. Any criminal justice system where one murder case in ten results in a murder conviction, where one arrested robber in six and one arrested burglar in 20 receives a prison sentence of even one year, is not a system where the punishment is certain and appropriate and consequently can do little to control crime."

Whitney North Seymour, chairman of the special committee on criminal justice of the New York Bar Association, offers this equation: "The deterrent effect of the criminal laws is directly proportional to the promptness and sureness of sanctions" —reinforcing the appeal for fewer delays. The focus here is on the "career criminal." "The truth is that there are a lot of bad people out there who ought to be locked up to protect the rest of us," says former Attorney General Griffin Bell. "Unless we're willing to face that, we don't really deserve a safe society."

In fact, given the limitations of prison space, money, crowded courts, procedural delays and so forth, the one relatively easy target of reform is the treatment of career criminals. Most serious crimes are committed by very few people. Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau cites figures showing that of 12,500 defendants appearing in district court, 80% have been in the dock before. Such figures are appalling, but they should make it easier to keep an eye on the main players. The direct and reasonable solution is to get career criminals out of circulation. New York City's Citizens Crime Commission recommends the creation of "career criminal units" in the police department.

In the matter of juvenile justice, career criminals are practically the whole concern. New York has recently lowered its juvenile classification from 16 years to 13 for youths who have committed serious crimes; and in Florida, Dade County Circuit Court Judge Seymour Gelber has recommended that the upper juvenile age be lowered to 14. But as the Wolfgang study showed, the real trouble is with habitual young criminals, who most observers feel ought to be removed from the community as swiftly as possible. The idea, says James Q. Wilson, is not to "dump them in old hell-hole reformatories" but rather "to restrict their freedom, get them out of bad family circumstances and keep track of them."

By far the most emotionally appealing criminal justice reform, and certainly not the most difficult, is to improve police and community relationships. Almost everyone agrees that at present the police are too distant from the communities they serve, and the communities are too disorganized to offer the police help or themselves protection. "For starters," advises Patrick Murphy, former police commissioner of New York and Detroit and current head of the Police Foundation, "police should get out of their patrol cars and onto the streets." FBI Director William Webster offers a general principle: "If the people support the police, the police can make a difference. Information is the most important part of law enforcement,

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Sears

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and information depends on people."

What Murphy, Webster and others are after in part is crime prevention, pure and simple; but the creation of a more cohesive neighborhood has its obvious internal advantages. Familiar mechanisms such as "citizens' watches" may be more likely to work in middle-class neighborhoods than in poor ones, because middle-class neighborhoods may be drawn together more closely by fear. Yet poor areas have more to fear from crime, and there are instances of ghetto communities helping themselves. One example is the House of Umoja, started by a black woman with six sons in west Philadelphia to counteract gang warfare; gang members connected with the House do community work, serve as bodyguards to the elderly and are even rehabilitating row houses. Several other cities are trying similar community projects, most of them with proven or apparent success. Ideologically, the beauty of community cooperation is that it satisfies the old liberal urges for community service while answering the new conservative cry to get mad as hell and not take this any more.

Alfred Blumstein, of Carnegie-Mellon University, offers a thoughtful connection of the community idea with the criminal justice system when he says that "one reason the courts are so overloaded is that family, church and neighborhoods are weakened. The criminal justice system is very weak as a crime control agent. It does some good but not a lot. We've got to look and find other forms of social control than the remote, impersonal and inherently limited criminal justice system that now serves as a replacement for institutions so weakened; thus it's important that we try to find local forms of security that are more responsible and accepted." It would be interesting if ultimately the most useful reform of the criminal justice system turned out to be the reform of one's own block, of one's own house.

If such reforms would improve the criminal justice system, why have they been so slow in coming? One answer is that they ought to be slow in coming, because each of these measures and ideas has a perilous side: severe sentencing and speedy trials incur the risk of hasty justice, and community activities can easily slip into vigilantism. Another answer is that Americans may be temperamentally reluctant to face squarely the issue of street crime. There is still much residual utopianism in the American mind, and the sight of more prisons, more courts, more cops can be read as a sign of how short the nation has fallen of its best expectations.

Yet better to live with a necessary evil than with an unnecessary one. And people are beginning to feel sore and foolish about tolerating a world dominated by a handful of savages. *—By Roger Rosenblatt. Reported by Jeff Melvoin/Boston and Evan Thomas/Washington, with other U.S. bureaus*

What Crime Does to the Victims

Grief, anger, paranoia and a new quest for community

Miami was host to a convention of travel agents last week. The city fathers, anxious to show how safe Miami really is, blanketed the better areas with extra police. Outside an elegant restaurant in Coconut Grove, four visitors witnessed a mugging. It was not an especially dramatic incident, and the visitors were not hurt or even involved. Yet afterward all four sat at their table, unable to eat because of their rage and fear. Incidents like that are common these days and so is a common feeling: no matter how many police are around, the feral youngsters who account for most U.S. crime seem to be able to strike when and where they wish. Says Criminal Justice Planner Bruce Hamersley of Miami: "The stability of the community has been destroyed. We are now living in a period where uncertainty is the rule rather than the exception."

Fingers to the face in a women's karate class at California State University, Los Angeles

A period when uncertainty is the rule rather than the exception

Last September's *Figgie Report on Fear of Crime* warned that "Americans have today become afraid of one another. Confronted with this frightening new challenge, American ability to act is rendered ineffective. Fear of violent crime seems to have made the country helpless, incapable of dealing with the sources of its fear." More important, perhaps, the report says that fear "may be one of the key factors impeding society's ability to cope successfully with those problems."

That fear is measurable in the ways in which Americans are adapting to the new realities of crime—the gun sales, the overbooked karate classes, the rush to buy burglarproof locks for doors and windows. It can also be seen in the ways in which Americans have consciously changed the pattern of their lives. Wealthy businessmen, fearful of kidnaping, who drive to work by different routes each day. Ordinary citizens who learn to walk the streets turning their heads from side to side to check on who might be behind them. Joggers learn to carry at least $20 in "mugger's money," to avoid being shot.

The feeling that all citizens are vulnerable to crime is especially strong among the elderly. Says James Gilsinan, a criminologist at St. Louis University: "The elderly feel a loss of power, of control, of decision making in most facets of their lives. The feeling that they are victims in other areas spills over into crime as well. The elderly stay in a lot, and when they do go out they tend to be in group situations"—which, Gilsinan points out, reduces their chances of being victimized.

Some of the adjustments in life-styles can be quirky. Mimi Warren, 26, of Philadelphia, has developed her own "waiting for a bus behavior." If she sees anyone near a bus stop at night, she breaks into sunny chatter, on the theory that even if the person is a mugger, the conversation will reduce her chances of being attacked. Hilary Stephenson, 38, also of Philadelphia, parks illegally outside her house at night because she would rather pay the parking tickets than walk four blocks from her garage. When she was lost in an unfamiliar part of town, she purposely drove the wrong way down a one-way street to attract a policeman's attention rather than stop and ask for directions. She arranges to call a friend after arriving home from an evening out.

with the understanding that the friend will summon police if there is no call. Says Stephenson, who is divorced and lives alone: "With the collapse of the nuclear family, you've got all these singles tucked away in little boxes. I think we must become each other's family."

To be sure, some people make a loud point of taking no precautions, often on the ground that criminals should not have the power to impose a quivering form of life on anyone. Former Attorney General Griffin Bell refuses to get a burglar alarm for his expensive home in northwest Atlanta. Nevenka Charia, 56, a sales clerk in New Orleans, is adamant about not changing her daily patterns out of fear of crime. "I refuse to restrict myself in my movements, day and night, or stay locked up in this house. That's not living at all." But she bought a handgun last December, and on Jan. 8, shot and killed one of two men who attacked her late at night in front of her house. She had never fired a gun before, and is now taking lessons. "It's difficult to say to anyone that they should have a gun," says Charia. "But I'll say this: by all means, fight back, resist, don't be afraid."

Police strongly disagree with her view, but people are beginning to fight back, sometimes in an organized way. At least three times in recent months, groups of subway riders in New York City have grappled with muggers and held them for police. In Memphis last month, Robert Druien, 31, happened to be in Union Planters National Bank during a robbery. He chased the robber to his car, was knocked down when the robber put the car suddenly into reverse, but then got up and joined three other citizens in a car chase through the midtown area. They got their man. Druien hit him in the face and sat on him until police arrived. In Wilmington, Del., after a woman was found dead and mutilated last year, residents of a high-rise apartment complex launched a "crime-watch program," monitoring a police radio scanner and looking out the window for signs of trouble. Richmond has a well-organized program in which neighbors agree to watch one another's homes and report suspicious behavior to police via CB radios.

"People are struggling to find a way to deal with the crime problem," says Catherine Bacharach, who has helped organize volunteer anticrime groups in Philadelphia with federal funds. "I see the rage and anger as healthy when it's channeled in a positive direction. My sense is that people who work in the system have recognized the need to work with community groups."

Not all officials feel that way. New York City authorities are ambivalent about the Guardian Angels, a group of unarmed red-bereted youngsters, mostly black and Hispanic, who patrol the subways. Though they clearly make riders feel safer, Mayor Edward Koch has labeled them "paramilitary," and the powerful transit police union regards them as amateurs. More muscular kinds of vigilante groups have begun to pop up around the country. Frank J. Shaw, 60, a retired union organizer and one of the new breed of vigilantes, is a folk hero in Panorama City, Calif. His 40-member citizens' patrol cruises the area by car, armed with floodlights and Mace, staying in touch by CB radio. "We're not flag-waving heroes. We are angry," says Shaw. "We can put the blindfolds on, close the shades, turn on the television and be in another world that we hope doesn't close in on us. Or we can face up to reality."

Part of the new reaction to crime is more attention to the victims of violent crimes. As psychologists have warned for years, a victim's lingering fear can be chronic and crippling. Ann McCaughey saw a hand reaching in the window of her Boston apartment one night. She screamed and the hand withdrew. Now she does not sleep well and the slightest noise at night can make her hyperventilate. Says her boyfriend: "It really gets to you. You don't forget." The couple are planning to move. "Being victimized is disabling, even when the crime is unsuccessful," says McCaughey's friend.

CLARIVEL BENITEZ, 19

Secretary, Miami

As she drove away from a supermarket, a man jumped into her car and tried to rob her. She sprayed Mace at him, whereupon he shot her twice and fled. No arrest.

CHRISTOPHER GROVE, 34

Auctioneer, Los Angeles

A man with a rifle held up the auction house, then ordered Grove to lie face down on the floor. He then shot Grove in the back and the head. No arrest.

As a counselor to rape victims in southern New York State, Registered Nurse Bonnie Hollenbeck began to notice some of the hidden effects of rape and other sexual abuse—confusion, low self-esteem and an impaired ability to function in the adult world. Says Hollenbeck: "Many of these women have failed to establish a connection between their history as victims of sexual crimes and their current difficulties." She and a few colleagues have set up a volunteer crisis counseling group to move in quickly after an assault to help the victim deal with anger, depression and grief.

J. Richard Ciccone, a University of Rochester psychiatrist, thinks all victims of violent crime need that kind of help: the trauma of a beating, a stabbing or a rape requires a period of mourning, just like the death of a loved one. Says he: "Victims who do not receive appropriate understanding and treatment often fall into chronic depression, lose their ability to make their way in the world and become reclusive shadows of their former selves." Though blaming the victim often happens in rape cases, Ciccone warns that many families manage to heap blame on all victims of violence, increasing grief and guilt by saying something like "I warned you never to go into that bar." Unless society begins to do more, he warns, the epidemic of crime will be paralleled by an epidemic of psychiatric problems in victims.

In Jackson Park Highlands, an integrated neighborhood near the University of Chicago, people have begun showing up in court to support crime victims and witnesses. "There is a strong sense of community among those engaged in criminal activity," says Louise Schiff, who works with the program. "You go to court and the defendant's relatives and friends are all there. I think a person who has been victimized deserves support too." Nearby Evanston, Ill., has a more formal victim-witness program, funded through the police budget. The unit assigns social workers and other professionals to guide a victim through emotional recovery and legal complaint. Says Police Chief William C. McHugh: "It helps in a lot of ways."

Experts agree that there tends to be less crime in cohesive, closely knit communities with shared values and a strong sense of neighborhood. But artificially instilling this community spirit into a mobile society is difficult. Some psychologists believe that Americans are becoming dehumanized by crime—not just by the reality but by the fear of it, and the pervasiveness of violent scenes in newspapers and on television. Some social scientists believe that public paranoia has led not only to demands for the restoration of capital punishment and long prison sentences but also to such ugly phenomena as the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan. "The country is becoming more conservative and punitive," says John Matthews, a sociologist for the Houston police. Indeed, some in authority envision a day when the public will want crime stopped—and will not much care how. "Frustration and fears are very natural reactions when people feel their lives are being shaped by forces beyond their control," says California Supreme Court Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird. She believes there is "great power" in such anger, but great danger as well. *—By John Leo. Reported by Steven Holmes/Chicago and Christopher Redman/Detroit, with other U.S. bureaus*

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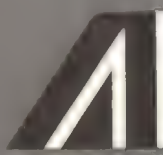

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AT HOME IN THE SKY

The Duel over Gun Control

Slogans, contradictory statistics and passionate arguments

A handgun is sold in the U.S. every 13 seconds, adding 2 million a year to the nation's estimated arsenal of 55 million automatics and revolvers. That is one pistol for every four Americans. There is no dispute over these facts, but the endless debate over gun control, pro and con, is dominated by facile slogans, contradictory statistics and arguments that owe as much to passion as to reason. The only consensus is that the present patchwork of nearly 25,000 gun regulations—most at the state and local levels—is a costly, bothersome sham. Practically speaking, any person with $10 in cash can find someone to sell him one of America's great equalizers, the handguns that are responsible for half the nation's murders.

There is no truly conclusive evidence that the ready availability of guns increases the amount of crime. Nonetheless, most experts agree with Philip Cook, a professor of public policy at Duke University, that the presence of guns increases the severity of crimes committed. Common sense suggests as much: no other hand weapon is so efficient at killing a human being. Guns particularly are a factor in more than half the murders that result from arguments between husbands and wives or other people who know each other.

This conclusion is supported by a study of Massachusetts' stringent 1975 gun law, which imposes a mandatory one-year jail term for carrying an unlicensed gun. Says Sociologist Glenn Pierce of Northeastern University in Massachusetts: "The level of criminal activity has not declined, but the character of the crime seems to have been affected. There are fewer gun-related offenses, and as a result it appears the offenses committed are less deadly." Homicides declined 55% during a two-year period, as shown by a study launched shortly before the bill became law. When those opposed to gun control proclaim, "Guns don't kill people, people kill people," they ignore the point that people with guns are far more likely to kill people than those armed with any other weapon.

Opponents of gun control argue that Americans have a basic constitutional right to bear arms. Says Neal Knox of the National Rifle Association: "The right of self-defense is a fundamental one, and if I know how to use a gun and feel I need one for self-defense, whose business is it to say that I shouldn't own one?" After eight years of trying to fight crime in Houston, Police Sergeant John Gilbert is one of many law officers who see merit in this view. Says he: "It's getting to the point where it's up to the citizens to protect themselves. And the way to do that is with guns." (Houston has the second highest murder rate.)

There are three main approaches to gun legislation:

▸ Allowing unrestricted ownership but cracking down on the criminal use of guns. Opponents of gun control, including President Reagan and the N.R.A., advocate a stiff mandatory jail term for anyone who uses a gun in committing a crime.

DAVID FRAZIER

Woman shopping for a handgun in Boise, Idaho

"The right of self-defense is a fundamental one."

Lafe Pfeifer, secretary of the Texas State Rifle Association, puts it bluntly: "Punish those who misuse firearms, but leave me alone." This approach predominates in Southern and Western states, but the laws are rarely enforced—and thus serve as no deterrent. In Montana, one survey showed that of 141 people convicted of armed crimes, none were sentenced to additional time for using a weapon. In Florida, where a similar law was passed in 1975, murders have steadily climbed to a record 1,387 last year, an increase of 28% over 1979. In Miami, 29,000 handguns were legally sold in six months last year, up more than 100% from the year before.

▸ Registration of handguns. While registration would not infringe on the right of citizens to own weapons, it would in theory give police some control over gun sales. Some form of registration is used throughout the country, but the strictness of rules varies enormously. In Arizona, guns can be purchased by simply filling out a form. In New York, by contrast, a purchaser must pass a background check and complete a marksmanship course before getting a permit to carry a gun. Registration has a limited impact on crime. "From the standpoint of homicide prevention, it is meaningless whether a gun is registered," says Detroit Psychiatrist Emanuel Tanay, a gun-control advocate.

▸ Banning handguns. Massachusetts, New York and Washington, D.C., have tried this by imposing severely restrictive permit requirements, backed by mandatory penalties for violations. But these tough laws will not work if nearby communities have easier ones. Mark David Chapman brought a legally purchased gun all the way from Hawaii to kill John Lennon in Manhattan. Bernard Welch stole a gun in Virginia and used it to kill Michael Halberstam, a noted cardiologist and author, in Washington. A ban would attempt to prevent any new handgun from coming into circulation; it would not affect hunting rifles and shotguns, which are more effective than pistols in defending homes, yet are rarely used by muggers or robbers. But even if Congress were to pass a statute banning handguns, the enormous nationwide cache—an estimated 2 million illegal guns in New York City alone—means it would be years before the black-market availability of these weapons was restricted.

A bill proposed by Senator Edward Kennedy last year to ban the sale, import and manufacture of small handguns is considered dead. Indications are that Congress may even loosen the already weak restrictions on guns. The 1.8 million-member N.R.A., with an annual budget of $30 million, forms the nation's most powerful single-interest group. One pro-N.R.A. bill, sponsored by Senator James McClure of Idaho and originally called the gun-decontrol bill, already has 61 sponsors in the Senate. It would loosen interstate trade in firearms and allow their possession by some categories of felons. In addition, Reagan plans to cut back or abolish the agency that now enforces federal gun laws, the Treasury Department's bureau of alcohol, tobacco and firearms. Although 62% of those surveyed in the most recent Gallup poll say they favor tighter gun laws, opponents of gun control clearly have the upper hand. As long as that is the case, America will have to live with one of the world's worst murder records. The facts are grim. In the U.S., there are 9.7 murders a year for every 100,000 people. Some others: Japan, 1.6; Britain, 1.3; West Germany, 1.3. One reason is that in these countries tough restrictions keep handguns out of circulation. —*By Walter Isaacson. Reported by Joseph J. Kane/Los Angeles and Marc Levinson/Atlanta, with other U.S. bureaus*

POLAND

Cracks in the Truce

Walesa and Jaruzelski defuse one strike, but some burning issues remain

Solidarity Union Leader Lech Walesa was in high spirits as he marched up the steps of Warsaw's gray stone Council of Ministers building last week. Grinning and puffing on his pipe, he joked good-naturedly with the gaggle of supporters around him. But the walrus-mustached electrician was in no mood for levity when he emerged after nearly four hours of talks with Poland's Premier, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Looking fatigued and depressed, Walesa said only that "we did some things—and we did not do other things."

What they did was defuse a series of strikes in Lodz that threatened to shatter the country's fragile month-old labor truce. The day of the Walesa-Jaruzelski meeting, Lodz factory sirens had blared at 10 a.m. to announce the start of a one-hour work stoppage affecting some 250,000 workers. That warning action was to have been followed by a series of province-wide sympathy strikes and sit-ins. But Walesa and Jaruzelski worked out a last-minute agreement that satisfied the Lodz workers' key demand: reinstatement of five sacked employees of an Interior Ministry hospital and a guarantee that local Lodz officials would not hinder Solidarity's organizing activities there.

What the two men did not do, however, was resolve other volatile issues that could at any moment erupt into a new wave of labor upheavals. In Radom the local Solidarity chapter was threatening strikes at 340 factories. In Poznan 490 farm delegates gathered from all over the country to join forces in a 2 million-member organization that was loudly demanding legal status as an independent agricultural union. In Warsaw and other centers, union members and their advisers claimed that they were being subjected to police harassment. Last week, for example, Dissident Leader Adam Michnik was detained by Warsaw police for three hours. Meanwhile, an ugly new outburst of anti-Semitic rhetoric was added to the apparent campaign to discredit the independent labor movement (*see box*). Faced with this array of potential flash points, Walesa and Jaruzelski agreed to resume their high-level dialogue possibly as soon as this week. As Walesa put it, "Let's talk before any fires spread."

Neither the popular labor leader nor the head of Warsaw's Communist government had much control over the most incendiary threat: the potential for armed Soviet intervention. If Moscow were to decide on such a move, a possible cover might be provided by the Warsaw Pact maneuvers scheduled to take place in and around Poland later this month. Though most Western analysts doubted that any imminent invasion plan was connected with the Warsaw Pact maneuvers, which are routinely held in the spring, Secretary of State Alexander Haig reiterated a sharp U.S. warning. A Soviet intervention, he said, would have "grave and long-term consequences on all hopes of improving relations between East and West."

Even as their tanks were being gassed up for the war games, Poland's East bloc neighbors intensified their warnings against further concessions to the workers. On a visit to Warsaw last week, East German Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer pointedly reminded his Polish comrades that their allies would never neglect their duty to enforce the principle of "socialist internationalism." Such warnings seemed all the more ominous in light of the new details that emerged last week about the stormy March 4 Moscow summit meeting between Polish and Soviet leaders. Led by Leonid Brezhnev and five Politburo members, the Soviet team reportedly called Polish Party Boss Stanislaw Kania on the carpet for letting the crisis get out of hand. Brandishing thick dossiers on the Polish labor movement, some of the Soviet officials read aloud from Solidarity union documents and speeches as though they were presenting a bill of indictment. One member of the Polish delegation was reportedly so shaken by the tirade that he told his colleagues that a Soviet invasion now seemed unavoidable, and that "the game is lost."

Perhaps not. But if the game could be saved at all, union and government leaders would have to work fast to resolve their remaining conflicts. The most immediate potential flash point was Radom, a grimy industrial city 60 miles south of Warsaw. On Thursday, members of the

A Lodz textile worker sits on an idle machine during last week's warning strike

Union and government leaders would have to work fast to resolve the remaining conflicts

local Solidarity chapter unanimously voted to launch a two-hour work stoppage this week—and a province-wide general strike on March 23—unless the government begins talks on a set of 19 demands. Foremost among them: the sacking of the provincial governor and other officials responsible for the brutal suppression of the price riots in 1976.

The Radom strike call was issued in spite of Walesa's personal appeal for moderation. After his meeting with the Polish Premier, Walesa assured Radom Union Leader Andrzej Sobieraj that the offending government officials would be dismissed within a few days. Replied Sobieraj: the Radom chapter would postpone its strike plans, if—but only if—those dismissals actually materialized. At week's end, the Communist Party newspaper *Trybuna Ludu* reported that one official, the Radom party chief, had secretly resigned ten days earlier.

Local authorities in Radom, however, often seemed to be doing their best to intimidate the restive workers. Police last week temporarily detained about 20 union members for putting up wall posters. Union officials also claimed that citizens were being fined by police simply for reading Solidarity leaflets, and that four Radom youths had been beaten up after telling a man to stop tearing down Solidarity posters.

Such incidents were part of what appeared to be a rippling campaign against Solidarity members and their supporters all across the country. A two-page report by Solidarity's national commission listed numerous cases of police harassment, ranging from unannounced searches of union offices to the temporary detention on March 5 of Dissident Leader Jacek Kuron, a regular adviser to Solidarity. Walesa raised this issue too during his meeting with Jaruzelski, who promised that a joint union-government commission would investigate the charges.

No amount of harassment, however, seemed likely to break up a growing alliance between Polish workers, dissident intellectuals and students. Behind the wrought-iron gate of the University of Warsaw last week, 1,000 students, professors and union officials gathered to commemorate the anniversary of the 1968 campus riots. Speaker after speaker declared that workers and students would never again be split as they were 13 years ago. Yet for all its emotional underpinnings, the demonstration was also marked by internal discipline and control. Everyone seemed to sense the limits and dangers of Poland's bold experiment. "A social movement must realize what can be achieved under certain circumstances," Jacek Kuron told the students. Evoking memories of Poland's 1956 riots, which very nearly prompted a Soviet invasion, the dissident leader warned, "We face the same tanks and we are aware that they can roll in." —*By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Richard Hornik/West Berlin*

Nazi troops rounding up survivors of the Warsaw ghetto in 1943

Searching for Scapegoats

Anti-Semitism has had a long and troubled history in Poland. Though Poles can claim a better record of tolerance than their Russian and German neighbors, suspicion and fear of the Jew as an outsider have all too frequently erupted over the centuries in persecution and pogroms. On the eve of World War II, Poland had the largest Jewish population in Europe. The Nazi Holocaust, postwar migration and a later purge reduced a once thriving community of 3.3 million to a tiny minority of some 5,000.

Last week the anti-Semitic specter appeared to rise again. On the surface the rally staged by about 1,000 Polish war veterans in front of the former secret police headquarters in Warsaw seemed respectable enough. The veterans had ostensibly come to pay homage to the victims of Stalinist terror in Poland in the early '50s. But a disturbing anti-Semitic strain began to sound through the nationalistic rhetoric. Orators singled out Jews in the Stalin-era Polish secret police and government as the torturers and murderers of "Polish patriots." Declared a former soldier in Poland's Home Army: "Those Jewish nationalists made a bloodbath. Let us block the way to power of the next generation of Zionists." Handbills with the slogan KEEP SOLIDARITY POLISH named the alleged Zionists: KOR Activist Adam Michnik and Solidarity Spokesman Karol Modzelewski, both identified as Jews.

Why would anyone reawaken the anti-Semitism issue in a country where there are now so few Jews to attack? In fact there was an overwhelming suspicion that the rally organizers had another target in mind. Coming only days after the temporary detention of Dissident Leader Jacek Kuron and other incidents of harassment against Solidarity, the rally seemed to many to be an attempt to discredit the independent trade union with an emotional "Zionist" label.

According to some Poland watchers, the anti-Semitic ploy may have originated in the middle ranks of the Communist Party and the government's security organization. Said one Eastern Europe expert: "Given the ease with which the group organized the rally and distributed leaflets, it is evident that the people behind the new movement are close to the police and power apparatus." One Bonn Foreign Ministry official, however, suspected a more elevated figure: "Mieczyslaw Moczar is back in the power structure. This could be his work."

Though Moczar, a former Interior Minister, only recently returned to the Politburo in a party shake-up last December, he is a past master of the art of anti-Semitic plotting. In March 1968 he crushed an uprising of Polish students and used the opportunity to advance his own nationalist faction through a purge of Jewish Communists. Could the revival of anti-Semitic rhetoric signal a new bid for power by the wily general? "It's a good bet," noted a West German diplomat. "This could have been a Moczar trial balloon."

Solidarity's Warsaw chapter quickly called on Poles "to stand against the attempt at anti-Semitic action." The Communist Party also rejected the incipient anti-Semitism. Said Party Chief Stanislaw Kania: "We do not think that the possibility exists to use anti-Semitism for any purpose. It was always foreign to Communists and contradictory to the tragic experiences of the Polish nation." There were signs last week that most Poles agreed. After the rally, flags, flowers and an anti-Semitic plaque left by the protesting veterans were angrily removed.

EUROPE

Toward a Farewell to Arms

A growing mood of antimilitarism—and a cult of détente

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain emerged from the 1938 Munich Conference, having ceded a slice of Czechoslovakia to Hitler, and made his slogan "peace in our time" synonymous with disastrous appeasement. Chamberlain's policy was largely a reflection of the popular pacifist sentiment in prewar Britain. Only a hopeless alarmist would suggest that such calamitous history might be repeating itself today. But Western military experts and policymakers are undeniably concerned by an increasing reluctance by Europe's man-in-the-street to accept the necessity of self-defense.

Call it pacifism, call it incipient neutralism, call it complacency born of three decades of peace and prosperity, but across Europe today an antimilitaristic mood is spreading through the body of public opinion, this time under the shadow of a growing Soviet arsenal. From Amsterdam to Bonn to London to Rome, marchers with BAN THE BOMB banners and antinuclear badges are loudly protesting attempts to reinforce Europe's nuclear deterrent forces. What is perhaps most remarkable about the phenomenon is that it is no longer seen only in traditional radical and leftist circles. TIME Senior Correspondent William Rademaekers reports that it is creeping into the ranks of major political parties, youth organizations, church groups, ecology movements, even into Chambers of Commerce.

In this popular consciousness, détente between the superpowers is often considered to be the prime value, and many Europeans have come to take it for granted as a permanent condition. Complains NATO Secretary-General Joseph Luns: "There is the impression among the Western European public that détente is an irreversible process. This attitude is undermining the Western Alliance."

Inevitably, that détente-at-any-price attitude is making itself felt on European governments. In a butter-over-guns decision two weeks ago, West Germany announced it would delay a number of planned defense development projects. In Britain, the opposition Labor Party has officially endorsed a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Dutch Labor Party has voted to reduce sharply Holland's nuclear role in NATO. So far, European leaders have managed to hold the line against this current and maintain a pro-Alliance course. But if the antimilitaristic mood continues to grow, it will hamper the ability of NATO governments to carry out their December 1979 pledge to deploy 572 U.S.-built cruise and Pershing II missiles on their soil.

Dutch marchers protesting proposed deployment of U.S. missiles at Soesterberg Airbase

Call it complacency born of three decades of peace and prosperity.

In the Benelux countries and in much of NATO's northern tier, student activists are encouraging "citizen initiatives" and petitions in areas designated for the deployment of U.S. missiles. Explains one student leader: "There is a moral right that supersedes the rights of the state."

A comparable campaign is taking place in Newbury, 53 miles west of London, where 96 U.S. cruise missiles are to be based in 1983. Labor Left-Winger Joan Ruddock has organized an anti-missile drive—complete with lapel buttons, canvassing and a rock concert. Such efforts are hardly marginal: a recent poll showed that 56% of Britain's population opposes the deployment of the U.S. missiles. Says Ruddock: "The whole idea of theater nuclear weapons means that we will be annihilated to save the United States and the eastern part of the U.S.S.R."

In West Germany, perhaps more than anywhere else, a veritable cult of détente has led at times to an almost obsequious public attitude toward Moscow. "Many people in this country do not want to upset the Russians. There is definitely a pacifist mood," says Christian Democrat Deputy Manfred Wörner. Admits a West German manufacturer in Munich: "If it were a choice between giving the Russians more influence here and even a limited war, we would opt for the Russians." A youth group affiliated with the Free Democratic Party last week opposed the deployment of U.S. cruise missiles, claiming that such a use of this weapon "represents only the interests of the U.S."

Throughout the NATO countries there is a widespread conviction that if the U.S. would just resume arms-control talks with the Soviets, Europe could get on with peace and prosperity again. The European press was quick to applaud Leonid Brezhnev's surprise call for a U.S.-Soviet summit at the recent Soviet Party Congress and his subsequent letters to Western political leaders expressing his interest in arms limitation. In stark contrast, President Reagan is often portrayed as a reckless warmonger intent on bombing the Soviets "back to the Stone Age," as the West German weekly *Stern* recently put it.

Only in France has the current seemed to run the other way. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, after years of bending over backward to avoid offending the Soviets, has belatedly realized that his foreign policy was out of tune with public opinion. The French voter has become increasingly wary of Moscow's motives in the wake of Afghanistan and the outbreak of unrest in Poland. Consequently, the election-minded President has executed a swift about-face. Since France is not a member of NATO's military command, it has no direct role in the U.S. missile-deployment plans. Yet Frenchmen have been virtually unanimous in embracing a need for vigorous self-defense ever since Charles de Gaulle established the independent French nuclear deterrent in the early 1960s.

The French are becoming increasingly critical of the present European mood. French Pundit Raymond Aron, for example, accuses the Western allies of suffering from varying degrees of "self-Finlandization." Warns Aron: "What we are seeing today in Europe is what has happened so often before in the past. The great army arrives at the border with trumpets blaring and flags flying. The people take note of its strength, the sacrifice required to repel the army, then accommodate themselves to the new reality." ■

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BRITAIN

"Howe It Hurts"

Thatcher holds her course

Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Geoffrey Howe had barely finished addressing the packed House of Commons when an avalanche of outrage and derision descended. "A catastrophe of the first order for the British people," sputtered Opposition Leader Michael Foot. "Fundamentally wrong in concept and maladroit in detail," complained a fellow Conservative M.P., Peter Tapsell. Said London's staid *Financial Times:* "An admission of defeat by the government." Blared the tabloid *Sun* "Howe it hurts."

The target of the multifaceted protest last week was an 82-page document Howe had extracted from its battered red case: Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's severely austere new budget, which she insisted "laid a solid foundation for sustained revival of the British economy." Ignoring urgent pleas for relief from both industry and trade unions, Thatcher asked Britons to swallow yet another dose of her bitter, monetarist medicine. "This government," she insisted, "has taken the wise and moral course, and I will challenge anyone who takes the contrary view." The new budget will raise government revenue by $7.7 billion—in part by imposing heavy new excise taxes on beer, liquor, cigarettes and gasoline. A fifth of 70-proof Scotch whisky, for example, went up from $11.80 to $13.54. The price of cigarettes jumped 31¢ to $1.93 a pack. Gasoline increased by 44¢, to an eye-opening $3.42 per imperial gal. Consumers will also face increased personal income taxes. Reason: tax allowances will no longer be adjusted to offset Britain's 13% inflation rate.

British industry received a few small breaks. The nation's minimum lending rate was reduced from 14% to 12%, a move designed to stimulate new investment and reduce the cost of British exports. At the same time, however, the oil and banking industries were hit with new taxes. Spokesmen complained that the meager benefits in the budget package would do little to relieve the plight of most businesses. "I share the disappointment everyone will feel," said a somewhat apologetic Howe. "But I am determined to sustain firm action in the battle against inflation. To change course now would be fatal."

Indeed Thatcher has not compromised in what some of her own Tory backbenchers called her government's "last-chance budget," and her advocates argued that this latest round of austerity will finally begin to pay off in recovery. That cannot come too soon for most Britons. Unemployment has hit almost 2.5 million, the highest level since the 1930s; the government itself has forecast 3 million by the end of the year (the equivalent of 12,660,000 unemployed in the U.S.). Inflation, though down from a high of 22% last summer, is still above the 10% level, which was where it stood when Thatcher took office. For all its efforts at cutting public spending, the government overran its targeted deficit by more than $10 billion, largely because of unemployment compensation and bailouts of steel and other public-sector industries. The glum assessment of one Tory economist: "Thatcherism is dead."

Howe with budget box at the Commons

Even Beefeaters walked off the job

That may be premature. But an increasing number of the Prime Minister's own party supporters are beginning to doubt her stubborn monetarist policy. "It's getting increasingly difficult to defend," a prominent Tory conceded. Added another: "If you were at the race track and the expert who had picked the last race all wrong gave you another tip, would you follow it?" By last week, the split within her Cabinet was a matter of public knowledge, although rumors that some of her ministers are planning to resign have been denied.

With more than 10% of Britain's labor force now out of work, few Britons seemed willing to endure the new budgetary hardships. The immediate threat came from 583,000 members of civil servants' unions, who held a daylong strike last week to protest the government's refusal to grant them a 15% pay increase. They also threatened further work stoppages that would disrupt government operations, including tax collection. Said Union Spokesman William Kendall: "We hope to blow the government's economic strategy right off course." Indeed last week at the Tower of London, even some of the venerable Beefeater guards walked off the job. ■

HUMAN RIGHTS

A Chilly Debut

The new U.S. policy

Striding into Geneva's mustard-colored Palais des Nations to make its debut at the annual session of the 43-nation U.N. Human Rights Commission, the crisp new U.S. delegation was received with keen anticipation. The assembled delegates were waiting to hear the first formal expression of the Reagan Administration's sharp break with the Carter human rights policy.

They were not disappointed. Chief Delegate Michael Novak, a neoconservative scholar at Washington's American Enterprise Institute, set out to assure the parley that the U.S. was not about to abandon human rights concerns. Novak made the difference clear: rather than criticizing only rightist regimes for human rights violations—a course the Carter Administration was often accused of following at the expense of U.S. strategic interest—he gave notice that the U.S. would not tolerate the flouting of human rights in Communist regimes. "Abuse of human rights is abominable," Novak declared, "but we want the same standards applied everywhere."

Distinguishing between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes, he added: "We tend to spend more time criticizing countries that are partly free, and making progress toward freedom, than those where little freedom exists." Finally, he argued, the greatest violation of human rights is the "new international terrorism, supported by various international networks." Novak concluded by promising the delegates that there would be no zigzagging on human rights by the Reagan Administration.

Lest anyone miss the point, Alternate Delegate Richard Schifter, a Washington attorney, delivered a broadside against the Soviets. Invoking "the lessons of the Hitler era," he charged the Soviets with "thinly veiled anti-Semitism" with its attacks on Zionism, and characterized the Soviet Union as a state whose "atheistic doctrine seeks to stamp out all creeds."

Delegates from other nations, accustomed to the commission's verbose and often lengthy wrangling, seemed to enjoy the theater, but many were critical. A number of Western European delegates accused the U.S. of a certain reverse selectivity in the new, professedly evenhanded U.S. approach to human rights. Said one: "I would have liked the U.S. retribution against the Soviets better if it had also included the rightist military dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere." When the U.S. abstained from voting for a Dutch-initiated resolution calling for cessation of all arms traffic into El Salvador and a special U.N. investigation of human rights violations there, the attitude toward the Americans turned distinctly chilly. ■

Pakistani political prisoners arrive in Aleppo, Syria, hours before hostages are freed

PAKISTAN

Putting Pressure on Zia

A grueling skyjacking climaxes opposition to his martial law

"Be prepared to pick up the bodies," said the chilling voice. "If my demands are not met by the ultimatum, I will shoot the Americans." That threat, spoken in accented English over the Damascus airport radio one day last week, was the worst moment of one of the longest-running hijackings ever, a thirteen-day nightmare for more than 100 people aboard a Pakistan International Airlines Boeing 720. Hijacked during a domestic flight, the plane had been forced to fly first to Kabul, Afghanistan, then on to Damascus, Syria.

The hijackers, three heavily armed Pakistanis, picked out three American passengers on board and labeled them "CIA agents."* They threatened to shoot them first, then blow up the plane, if the Pakistani government did not release 55 political activists from prison. Their threat was all the more credible because they had already shot a Pakistani diplomat aboard the plane and dumped his body on the Kabul airport runway.

Just before the 6 p.m. Thursday deadline for the executions, Pakistani officials negotiating with the hijackers announced that their government had agreed to release the prisoners. The capitulation defused the crisis—almost. At week's end, radical Libya, which had originally agreed to receive the Pakistani prisoners, suddenly balked. The detainees, who had flown first to Aleppo, Syria, went on to Athens, then headed back to Damascus, where the hijacked plane and the hostages remained. Finally the Syrians, who acted as mediators in the hijacking, agreed to receive the Pakistanis themselves. The hijackers found that acceptable and ended the grim drama by surrendering to Damascus authorities.

The three Pakistani terrorists, who left the airplane shouting "Long live Bhuttoism!" claimed to belong to a group called *Al Zulfikar*, presumably named after Former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, founder of the opposition Pakistan People's Party (P.P.P.), who was jailed and executed by President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq in 1979. The Pakistani government reacted last week with arrests of some 200 political opponents, including Bhutto's widow Nusrat and his daughter Benazir.

The hijacking climaxed nearly a month of mounting unrest in Pakistan, the most serious wave of opposition that General Zia's martial-law regime has faced since it came to power in a military takeover in 1977. The ferment began with a secret meeting in Lahore of representatives of seven opposition parties. With all political activity outlawed for the past 18 months, some politicians had to circumvent travel bans, while others sent surrogates.

The parties set aside their numerous differences and issued a call for an end to martial law and for elections within three months. "We demand that Zia quit immediately," they declared, "failing which [the military rulers] will be removed by the irresistible will of the people." They then announced the formation of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (M.R.D.), aiming to galvanize the population into strikes, demonstrations and civil disobedience.

The M.R.D. had plenty to work with. During the past month university teachers, lawyers and doctors have engaged in politically motivated strikes and boycotts. Student demonstrations have erupted throughout the country; in Karachi, a clash left one student dead. In response, the government has closed all university campuses and imposed a number of restrictions, including bans against carrying placards, shouting slogans or even calling meetings of more than five people.

At the same time, Zia has tried to please Muslim opinion with a strict Islamization program. But that too has aroused opposition. Women have protested new restrictions, including a recommended return to the traditional Pakistani *burqa*. Others worry about government imposition of religious custom. "Islam should rise from the people," protests one newspaper editor. "Zia is using Islam to prevent democracy."

Democracy, or the lack of it, is at the heart of Zia's problem. Zia has several times scheduled and then postponed national elections, claiming on each occasion that it was not the "appropriate time." Last week, to relieve some of the political pressure, he announced the introduction of more civilians into his predominantly military Cabinet. The move was a distinct disappointment. Most leading politicians refused to serve under Zia unless he ended press censorship and agreed to share decision-making power, which he was hardly ready to do. As a result, the new Cabinet Ministers turned out to be little-known figures.

For all the unrest, Zia is not in any immediate danger of being toppled. Since Bhutto's execution, the combined opposition has not been able to produce a single leader who might become a realistic alternative—or credible threat—to Zia. One further factor that helps Zia is the notion that the Soviets might interpret any major political unrest as an excuse to move into Pakistan from Afghanistan. *—By Sara Medina. Reported by Marcia Gauger/Islamabad*

Mohammed Zia ul-Haq in Rawalpindi last week

Trying to relieve the pressure with gestures.

*The trio: Lawyer Frederick Hubbell, 30, of Des Moines, Iowa; Businessman Craig Clymore, 24, of El Toro, Calif.; and a man initially identified as Lawrence Mangum of New York City

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EL SALVADOR

Fighting, with a Festive Interlude

The junta celebrates its land reform—as the skirmishes continue

One morning early last week, three members of El Salvador's ruling civilian-military junta were busy making surprisingly festive appearances at widely separated haciendas. At a rich estate in the San Isidro Valley, José Antonio Morales Ehrlich addressed a solemn crowd of peasants gathered on the soccer field. "In El Salvador, the exploitation of the peasants has definitely ended," he told them. "Today you work the land for your own benefit." Another junta member, José Ramón Avalos Navarrete, presided over ceremonies at a sugar and coffee plantation near the Guatemala border. At a cotton plantation near Usulatan, Junta President José Napoleón Duarte told his listeners to look forward to elections as early as next winter.

All three ceremonies were being held to celebrate the first anniversary, and the relative success so far, of the country's land-reform program. The haciendas visited by junta members were among the 283 estates that have been expropriated since last March and converted into cooperatives farmed by 40,000 peasants. The recent harvest has not been spectacular, but it was surprisingly satisfactory—especially in view of the disruptions caused by the land-reform process itself and the violence from both left and right.

The price of land reform in blood and repression has been cruelly high. Some expropriated landowners are believed to be supporting the right-wing death squads, whose killing and brutality are intended to bring back the old feudal days. The leftist guerrillas have also resorted to violence, since successful land reform deprives them of a major popular grievance.

Youthful troops on maneuvers near Suchitoto

For once, the security forces were popular.

Government forces, meanwhile, continued to attempt forays against the leftist insurgents holed up in remote areas. Last week skirmishes took place around the town of Suchitoto, where the guerrillas have cut off the water supply and isolated townspeople from a nearby reservoir. National Guard escorts now accompany water trucks to the town; one truck was blown up last week and its driver killed. Ironically, the guerrilla-induced water shortage has transformed the government forces in Suchitoto into local heroes—hardly the tactics recommended in the guerrilla warfare handbook.

Even as U.S. military advisers continued to arrive in El Salvador last week, including the first of 15 Special Forces Green Berets, along with weapons and equipment, the controversy over stepped-up U.S. aid continued in Washington. Former Ambassador Robert White, recently fired by the Reagan Administration, has repeatedly charged that the Salvadorans did not want or need, and could not absorb, such large amounts of new weaponry. He has also said that the Pentagon exerted considerable pressure on the Duarte regime mostly because the Reagan Administration wanted to make a big show of its opposition to Soviet and Cuban involvement in arming the guerrillas.

Salvadorans, indeed, have shown considerable reluctance to accept increased U.S. military aid. U.S. officials had to present their case several times before the Duarte government agreed to request it. Though Duarte has now stated that U.S. military aid is necessary, other moderate leaders still are known to fear that an increased U.S. military presence could be counterproductive and give the guerrillas a nationalist rallying cry. They are also concerned that the U.S. anti-Communist rhetoric accompanying the aid might encourage right-wing military officers to attempt a coup.

In the battlefields, however, Salvadoran officers fighting the guerrillas say they would welcome new military equipment, especially sophisticated communications gear and helicopters. The U.S. justifies the dispatch of instructors as necessary to help the Salvadorans make good use of the new equipment. Finally, Administration officials concede, the advisers comprise a "highly visible" sign of the Reagan Administration's determination to fight Communist "indirect armed aggression." ■

The Grocery-Store Papers

On Jan. 10, the day El Salvador's leftist guerrillas launched their unsuccessful "final offensive," a squad of National Police raided a small grocery store in San Salvador. Hidden behind a hollow wall, they found a plastic garbage bag and a large suitcase, both filled with papers. At first the papers sat on a dusty, police-office desk; no one imagined that the scores of documents would provide most of the U.S. proof that the Cubans and Soviets supplied arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas. Their recovery was due to the enterprise, and luck, of Diplomat Jon Glassman, 37, a political counselor at the U.S. embassy in Mexico City.

In mid-January, Glassman arrived in San Salvador to seek information about how the guerrillas were obtaining large quantities of sophisticated weapons. The Salvadoran general staff had already provided some captured documents, including an account of an arms shopping trip made last year by a Salvadoran Communist official to Moscow, Hanoi and Soviet bloc capitals. But there was no evidence that any weapons had been delivered or shipped to nearby countries. Discouraged, Glassman was about to return to Mexico City when he decided to ask the National Police. They gave him the grocery-store papers.

Glassman quickly scanned the notes, letters and committee reports, but they were mostly in code. Then a guerrilla leader's letter mentioned an effort by "the Esmeralda management" to help patch up a factional split among the guerrillas. A second letter openly thanked a Cuban official for his assistance in ending the dispute.

Realizing that the Esmeralda management meant the Cuban government, Glassman reread the documents, substituting *Cuba* for *Esmeralda*. One report discussed the Communist official's trip and the weapons he was promised. Another document spoke of Esmeralda-Cuba as a transshipment point for weapons from Ethiopia and Viet Nam, and mentioned guerrilla supply lines through Nicaragua. The grocery-store papers represented over 70% of the material that Washington used to draw up last month's White Paper documenting Soviet and Cuban arms aid to El Salvador's insurgency.

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ASIA

The Soviets Stir Up the Pacific

Flexing their new muscles provokes alarm and resolve

The relentless Soviet military buildup of the past two decades has been a worldwide phenomenon. But in the past year or so, in addition to digging in deeper in Afghanistan, the U.S.S.R. seems to have been concentrating on its eastern flank: it has steadily reinforced what were already formidable land, air and sea forces along the rim of the Pacific. A shift in the area's balance of power would be bad news for the West. The U.S. has some important old friends in East Asia, notably Japan, as well as a big if problematic new one, the People's Republic of China. East Asia also contains two perennial trouble spots that could be flash points of superpower confrontation—the Korean peninsula and Indochina. TIME *Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott, who has returned from an extensive East Asian tour, reports:*

For more than 30 years, U.S. diplomats, generals and admirals have often been frustrated in their attempts to get America's friends and allies in East Asia to overcome their many differences and join forces in resisting Soviet advancements in the region. The prospects for such cooperation have recently improved, not necessarily because the U.S. is suddenly more persuasive, but because the Soviet Union has been building up its military forces so vigorously and, in the view of many East Asians, provocatively.

Japan is feeling particularly exposed to Soviet military power. In the past two years, the Soviet Union has garrisoned about 10,000 ground troops on four islands north of Japan. The Soviet Union seized the islands at the close of World War II, but Japan still claims them. This newly strengthened Soviet outpost includes Mi-24 assault helicopters, among the most sophisticated antitank gunships in the world and therefore an obvious threat to the Japanese armored units stationed just across the Nemuro Strait on the northernmost Japanese island of Hokkaido.

In the past six months, the U.S.S.R. has also significantly beefed up the firepower it has aimed at Japan from the Soviet mainland. The Kremlin has replaced its MiG-21s with the more advanced MiG-23 combat fighters and has moved a battery of SS-20 mobile missiles with multiple warheads, plus at least ten supersonic Backfire bombers armed with antiship missiles, from Europe to bases near Vladivostok, directly across the Sea of Japan from Hokkaido.

One Soviet motive for these threatening deployments is to give military weight to Moscow's territorial claim over the disputed islands. The Kremlin may have made its point, but it has also aroused Japanese ire and permitted Japanese generals and hawkish politicians to talk more openly about increased defense spending. Japanese public opinion still fears the shadow of the country's militaristic past, and the government is quite sensitive to the lingering resentment among East Asian countries that were occupied by Japan in World War II. But, as one Japanese official puts it, "advocacy of a more active defense policy was virtually taboo a year or two ago. Now it is merely controversial. We have the Russians to thank for the change."

Indeed, another motive for the Soviet buildup around Japan is probably the Soviet Union's desire to guard against a possible Japanese-American-Chinese military alliance some day in the future. The Kremlin's concern over China alone has already led it to amass 46 divisions—nearly a quarter of its total ground forces—along the Sino-Soviet border.

A third Soviet purpose in the present buildup in the Far East entails a more direct and immediate threat to the U.S.: Soviet submarines armed with missiles targeted on the U.S. have tended to take up their stations in the open waters of the North Pacific, between Hawaii and Alaska. Their movements can be monitored relatively easily by U.S. antisubmarine warfare (ASW) forces. But the latest Soviet submarines, fitted with new longer-range missiles, could hit targets in the continental U.S. from farther away—from the Sea of Okhotsk north of Hokkaido, which is sheltered by the Soviet mainland, a peninsula and the Kuril Islands. Japanese and American experts believe the Soviet Union is trying to seal off the Sea of Okhotsk from American ASW forces and turn it into a protected launching area for the newest Soviet subs and missiles.

The Korean peninsula too has been receiving close, though more subtle, at-

tention from Soviet military planners. For decades North Korea has performed a delicate balancing act between its giant neighbors, China and the Soviet Union, repeatedly promising each that it would not allow the other to establish a base on North Korean territory. For the past two years, however, North Korea has allowed Soviet merchant ships and tankers to use its year-round port of Najin and from there to transport petroleum and other supplies by rail to Vladivostok when that city's harbor is closed by ice. A top South Korean official notes that this kind of cooperation would have been "unthinkable only a few years ago and therefore at least symbolically worrisome." Symbolism aside, it helps the Soviets support their expanded military activities in Siberia. Sources in Seoul also say that Soviet submarines are bolder than in the past about playing cat-and-mouse with South Korean coastal patrol boats.

These Soviet moves make ominous sense when seen on a map. The Korea Strait, at the southern end of the Sea of Japan, is a key link between the Siberian home ports of the Soviet Pacific fleet at Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk in the north and the naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Viet Nam to the south. That American-built facility has fulfilled the Soviets' long-held, often frustrated desire for a warm-water naval base halfway between Vladivostok and the politically volatile, economically vital Persian Gulf–Indian Ocean region, where the superpowers are now circling each other warily.

The Soviets claim only to have "access" to bases in Viet Nam. The installations there, they insist, are still very much in Vietnamese hands. Not so, say U.S. experts. Aerial photography has discovered that the Soviets are building and operating a support pier to tend the nuclear-powered submarines that frequently call at Cam Ranh Bay. In the past few months, communications intercepts have picked up voices speaking native Russian from the control tower at Danang's military airfield, also U.S.-built. Says Vice Admiral Sylvester Foley, a deputy chief of naval operations in Washington: "In Viet Nam, the Soviets now have what for all intents and purposes is a forward staging base." That base makes it far easier for Soviet warships to take up stations in the South China Sea near the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. One of their missions is to scrutinize Subic and the nearby U.S. Air Force base at Clark Field. The bases in Viet Nam give the Soviet navy what military experts call a "surge capability": its ships can steam into the Indian Ocean in one or two days, compared with the seven or more days' voyage required from Vladivostok.

Soviet sub plows through Sea of Japan

The gateway between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean—and the choke point through which passes virtually all of the Middle Eastern oil on which Japan's economy depends—is the Strait of Malacca, a channel 30 miles wide at its narrowest point, between the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian island of Sumatra. Here too Soviet naval activity has been on the rise, in both obvious and not-so-obvious ways. Soviet destroyers, cruisers and diesel-powered, torpedo-firing Foxtrot submarines have been passing through the strait at the rate of about six a month, while nuclear-powered Echo-class subs, armed with antiship cruise missiles, prowl the South China Sea. Malacca is so shallow that subs must go through with at least their conning towers awash and therefore tend to make the passage at night. But the Indonesian navy believes fully submerged Soviet subs have been testing the deeper waters of the Sunda Strait off the southern tip of Sumatra and the Lombok Strait off Bali as alternative, less conspicuous ways of slipping into the Indian Ocean. The neutralist Indonesians are so concerned about Soviet penetration of their archipelago that they are considering asking the U.S. for submarine-detection equipment with which to monitor the underwater traffic through Sunda and Lombok.

Last year, to show its disapproval of the invasion of Afghanistan, the vociferously anti-Soviet government of Singapore closed its superbly equipped and strategically located port and drydock facilities to the Soviet navy. Yet Singapore still does booming business servicing the Soviet fishing, merchant and oceanographic research fleets, all of which have naval auxiliary functions. In fact, Soviet fishing vessels, particularly mother ships, often carry out electronic eavesdropping on other navies. Soviet merchant tankers are frequently diverted to refuel warships. The Soviet Oceanographic Research Fleet—the largest in the world—charts the ocean floor for the navigators aboard Soviet submarines and sometimes lays down remote-control sensors in order to help the Soviets keep track of American submarines. Says Admiral Foley, tersely: "The Russians' entire maritime capability is linked together." The U.S. Navy has the benefit of no such cooperation with commercial and civilian vessels in peacetime.

While the Soviets have been accelerating their naval buildup, the U.S. in recent years has fallen behind slightly in both new warships and naval aircraft. The Soviet Pacific fleet is now the largest anywhere in the world, totaling 319 armed warships, compared with 171 in the U.S. Seventh Fleet. The Soviet Union has increased its naval tonnage in the Pacific by 18% in just the past three years. Despite the Soviet numerical advantage, American vessels by and large are technically more sophisticated, carry more firepower and have more experienced crews. Because the Seventh Fleet must do double duty, however, patrolling the troubled waters of the Indian Ocean as well as the Pacific, U.S. ships and crews are spending 15% more time at sea than they did even during the height of the Viet Nam War. That statistic means that both men and machines are being overworked.

The Reagan Administration is acutely aware of the problem. "We've let our maritime forces shrink to a size where we can't meet all the political commitments we have," says Navy Secretary John Lehman. The Administration's long-term goal, which so far has generated considerable support in Congress, is to reverse the current adverse trend in the rivalry at sea. Explains

Forger aircraft taxis on the deck of Soviet carrier *Minsk*

Home away from home and "surge capability" at Cam Ranh Bay

Lehman: "Parity is an unacceptable concept in naval terms. We're a maritime power, while the Soviet Union is a land power. We can live with stable parity in strategic terms [*i.e.*, intercontinental nuclear forces] and even with disparity in the other side's favor in land forces. But we must have clear superiority in naval forces. By definition, we would lose a standoff with the Soviet navy." The mission of the U.S. Navy is to keep sea lanes open, while that of the Soviet navy might be to interdict those lanes in a conflict. The American mission is more difficult and requires more force.

Lehman and others acknowledge that the goal of clear-cut superiority is distant and difficult, but they hope to make a big step in that direction by adding three battle groups to the twelve now in service round the world. A battle group consists of about seven warships, including an aircraft carrier. As a quick fix, the Reagan Administration early this month asked Congress for funds to recommission two World War II battleships now in mothballs. They would be refitted for firing cruise missiles and used as the centerpieces of new battle groups until additional aircraft carriers were available.

All this is regarded as welcome, if overdue, by the pro-Western governments in East Asia, as well as most of the neutral ones. Says Hisahiko Okazaki, a top strategist of Japan's Defense Agency: "As we see it, the Americans are coming back. There seems to have been a psychological change in American public opinion, largely in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan."

South Korean Diplomat Hahm Pyong Choon, a former Ambassador to the U.S. and national security adviser to the late President Park Chung Hee, says, "The U.S. is sending the right signals for a change." Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and his Deputy Prime Minister Sinnathamby Rajaratnam are nothing short of ecstatic about the Reagan Administration. "For the first time since the Viet Nam War," says Rajaratnam, "the Americans are taking up the challenge."

Chinese officials in Peking are somewhat less enthusiastic. They worry that the Reagan Administration's military plans for the Pacific may include the sale of modern warplanes to Taiwan, which the People's Republic regards as a violation of the terms by which diplomatic relations were established two years ago. Also while officials in Peking applaud the hard-line anti-Soviet rhetoric now coming out of Washington, they say that they are still awaiting "concrete actions." In any case, they caution that the Soviet military challenge is too big for any imaginable American response to handle on its own.

"No one country—Japan, China or the U.S. alone—can check Soviet expansionism," says Tan Wenrui, deputy editor in chief of the Chinese party newspaper, the *People's Daily*. The Chinese want to see the emergence of a multilateral defense arrangement. Singapore's Rajaratnam agrees: "Since the U.S. cannot meet the threat on its own, what is needed in Asia is a collective defense system including the U.S., the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines), Australia, New Zealand and Canada, with South Korea and China as components. The Japanese, too, must contribute their share to the security of this area. They have got to get away from their old policy of saying, 'We'll make the Toyotas; you provide the defense umbrella.'" Rajaratnam is quick to add, however, "The U.S. must play the leading role. No one country out here can do that itself. America must definitely not delegate regional defense to Japan and China."

Soviet missile cruiser in the Tsushima Strait

Right now the wind is blowing from Siberia.

That caveat is echoed with some passion in Seoul and Jakarta. The South Koreans and most Southeast Asians are glad to see the Japanese openly debating the expansion of forces to defend their home islands and territorial waters, but no one in East Asia, including the Japanese, wants the U.S. to prod Japan into taking responsibility for other countries as well. On this subject, Ambassador Hahm of South Korea clenches his fist, purses his lips and raises his voice: "There is a suspicion throughout the area that the U.S. may be tempted to strengthen Japan as a surrogate. That plays on the 'ugly Japanese' syndrome. It conjures up the nightmare—an image out of hell—of the swaggering Japanese. Many countries here have already had to deal with a militarily humiliated Japan dominating us by its economic power. On top of that, are we now to have a militarily powerful Japan? Don't try to impose Japan on us. We have our historical hang-ups too."

Indonesia's hang-ups include not only wartime occupation by Japan but the more recent memory of the bloody and abortive Communist coup of 1965, which many Indonesians blame on Peking. Also, like other Southeast Asian nations, Indonesia has an economically prosperous minority of ethnic Chinese that is widely resented and mistrusted by the rest of the population. As a result, anti-Chinese sentiment is always just beneath the surface of Indonesian politics. Explains Vice President Adam Malik: "We've always seen a danger from both the Soviet Union and China. For a long time we were not sure which was the most threatening. However, since the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, we realize the immediate threat is from the Soviet Union."

Malik is a onetime president of the United Nations General Assembly and Indonesia's best-known statesman. As a civilian, however, he does not fully represent the military-dominated government. President Suharto, a former general, has recently told visiting U.S. Congressmen and Western diplomats that he still regards China as a bigger long-term threat to Indonesia than the U.S.S.R.

The Reagan Administration intends to use quiet diplomacy, not to get Japan to play the role of deputy regional superpower, but instead to increase its own antisubmarine warfare activity in the Sea of Okhotsk, upgrade its air and coastal defenses and pay a larger share of the cost of U.S. military bases in Japan. The Administration's new China policy is still not completely formed, but policymakers are inclined to stress the need to help China modernize its economy and industrial base, rather than sell it offensive weaponry.

Whether these and other policies eventually foster a multination anti-Soviet defense grouping in the Far East, spearheaded by the U.S., will depend mainly on two factors: first, whether Soviet activity in the region continues to frighten the countries there in the direction of such a grouping; and second, whether those countries are sufficiently impressed by the promised U.S. buildup to follow the American lead.

Concludes South Korea's Hahm: "It's going to take the fine hand of the U.S. to give this motley grouping a coherence. Regional security for the entire Pacific basin is a U.S. responsibility. If the U.S. does not accept that responsibility, the Soviets will fill the vacuum. Then the fence sitting will begin, with everyone waiting to see which will blow—a Chinese wind or a Soviet wind." Right now, and for the foreseeable future, the wind everyone is worried about is blowing down on East Asia from Siberia. ■

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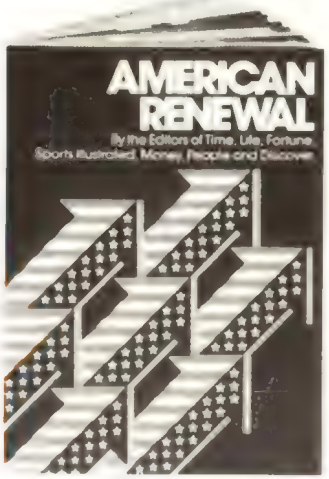

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Milestones

ENGAGEMENT REVEALED. George Wallace, 61, former three-time Alabama Governor and independent presidential candidate; and **Lisa Taylor,** 32, country-and-western singer turned executive of a family-owned coal firm; in Jasper, Ala.

DIED. Chester Bitterman, 28, Protestant missionary who was kidnaped from the Colombian headquarters of Wycliffe Bible Translators on Jan. 19 by hooded terrorists claiming to represent the Marxist "April 19th Movement"; of gunshot wounds after 48 days in captivity; in Bogotá, Colombia. Bitterman, the father of two, was found in a stolen minibus after the evangelical Wycliffe organization rejected a terrorist manifesto accusing it of being a CIA front and demanding that it pull out of the country.

DIED. Robert Cecil Romer Maugham, 64, nephew of Author W. Somerset Maugham and, as "Robin" Maugham, a prolific novelist, playwright and memoirist in his own right (*Somerset and All the Maughams, Conversations with Willie*); in Brighton, England.

DIED. Maurice Oldfield, 65, amiable bachelor who, after serving in World War II intelligence, rose through the ranks of the British Secret Service to head it between 1973 and 1978, and who was believed to be the inspiration for both "M," the intelligence chief in Ian Fleming's James Bond novels, and George Smiley, the deceptively bland hero of John le Carré thrillers like *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy;* of cancer; in London. In 1979 Oldfield emerged from a brief retirement to head an antiterrorist security force in Northern Ireland following the assassination of Earl Mountbatten by the Provisional I.R.A.

DIED. Max Delbrück, 74, molecular biologist whose pioneering research on bacteriophages (viruses whose genetic matter "invades" or "infects" bacteria) laid the foundation of modern molecular genetics and won him a Nobel Prize in 1969; of cancer; in Pasadena, Calif.

DIED. Bosley Crowther, 75, sober, scholarly film critic for the New York *Times* from 1940 to 1967, and author of *The Lion's Share: The Story of an Entertainment Empire* (1957) and *Hollywood Rajah: The Life and Times of Louis B. Mayer* (1960); of a heart attack; in Mount Kisco, N.Y.

DIED. Ray Allen Billington, 77, historian who chronicled the westward movement of the American frontier in such scholarly but vivid books as *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (1949) and this year's *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise;* of a heart attack; in San Marino, Calif. Billington taught from 1944 to 1963 at Northwestern University, where he showed generations of undergraduates the way West in a course known as Cowboys and Indians.

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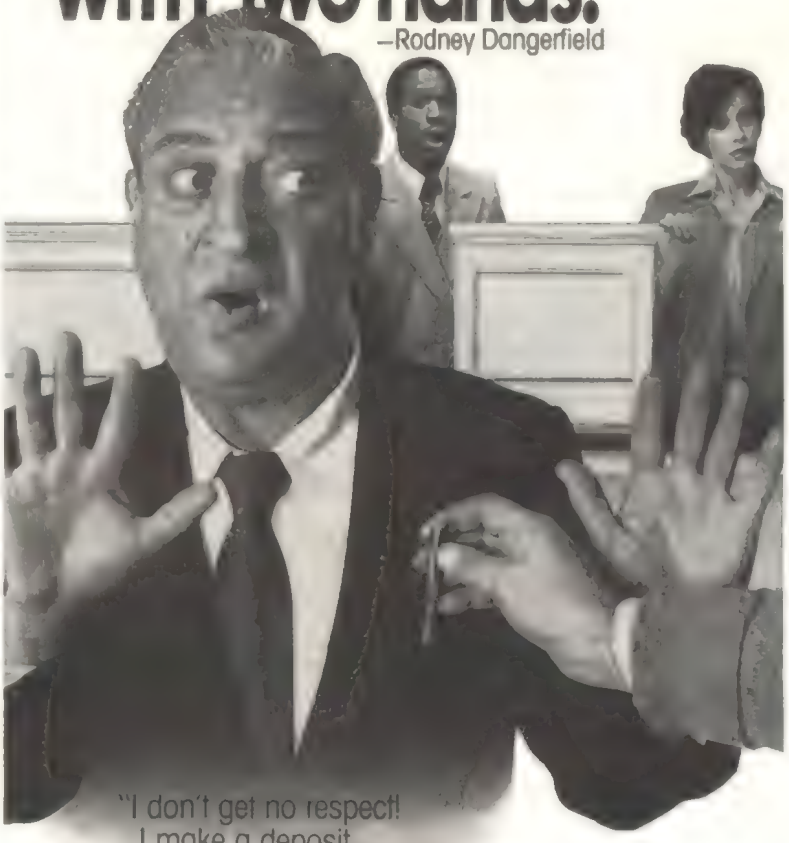

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Jack Nicholson and Jessica Lange on a kitchen table in *The Postman Always Rings Twice*

The Post-Mark of Cain

THE POSTMAN ALWAYS RINGS TWICE
Directed by Bob Rafelson; Screenplay by David Mamet

Bam BAM BAM goes the novel, with the collision force of mean men's fists or lovers' thighs. Chapter One: Frank and Cora meet. Two: they make big bloody love. Three: they plot the murder of her husband Nick. Four: the murder attempt fails. Five: they set out for a life on the road, then split. Six: Frank returns to her. Seven: this time they do kill Nick. Eight: they make love over his corpse. Nine: they are charged with his murder. Ten, Eleven, Twelve ... In bold, remorseless strokes, and fewer than 100 pages, James M. Cain etched a portrait of animal lust and human need, of mania and the Depression, of the original sin and spectacularly convoluted forms of retribution. Its narrative travels the arc of electricity from the first shock of sexual attraction to the final jolt of death-row juice. The 1934 novel was a banned-in-Boston bestseller, and moviemakers have sprained their backs ever since trying to get it right on-screen.

The new film dispenses with the machismo verismo of Luchino Visconti's 1942 *Ossessione* and the platinum-blinded glitz of the 1946 version starring John Garfield and Lana Turner to concentrate on a purposefully paced retelling of Cain's story. It means to calibrate every movement in the desperate mating dance of Frank and Cora, "these unspeakably stupid, *very* simple people, filled with guile and tenderness." That is Director Rafelson's phrase, spoken without contempt for his characters but with an understanding of their selfish, consuming needs. Though Nick's café is just a short drive from Hollywood, Cora knows the only spotlight she is likely to appear in is the concupiscent glare from men across the counter. Frank knows he's several criminal convictions past a prime he never had. But his rutting passion for Cora offers them both the reckless hope of transcendence.

The film's steamy sex scenes—especially the first, which takes place in the kitchen among foods and utensils as elemental as love and death—will raise eyebrows and temperatures. In part this is because *The Postman* appears at a time when moviemakers seem to have forgotten that the libido exists, in part because these scenes are the film's only submissions to spontaneity. This *Postman* is a true period piece—not 1934, but the early '70s, when American and European directors were investigating functions of the apocalyptic orgasm from behind a modernist screen. Like *Last Tango in Paris*, Rafelson's *Postman* shows what his doomed lovers do but does not tell who they are. Their willful sex scenes are explicit and incandescent; their motivations are elliptical smoke signals viewed from the other side of Death Valley.

Rafelson makes handsome, careful movies (*Five Easy Pieces, The King of Marvin Gardens*) about outcasts fighting a system all too ready to ignore them. At times, his *Postman* is too handsome, too careful: Rafelson caresses every ladder in Cora's stockings, every crescent of dirt under Frank's fingernails, until they become aspects of art direction. Jack Nicholson's performance as Frank is studied too. The dashing star of a decade ago has dared to inhabit the molting seediness of the character actor. So Cora must choose between two middle-aged galoots: one offers her security, the other release. This is her chance to come alive, and she grabs for it.

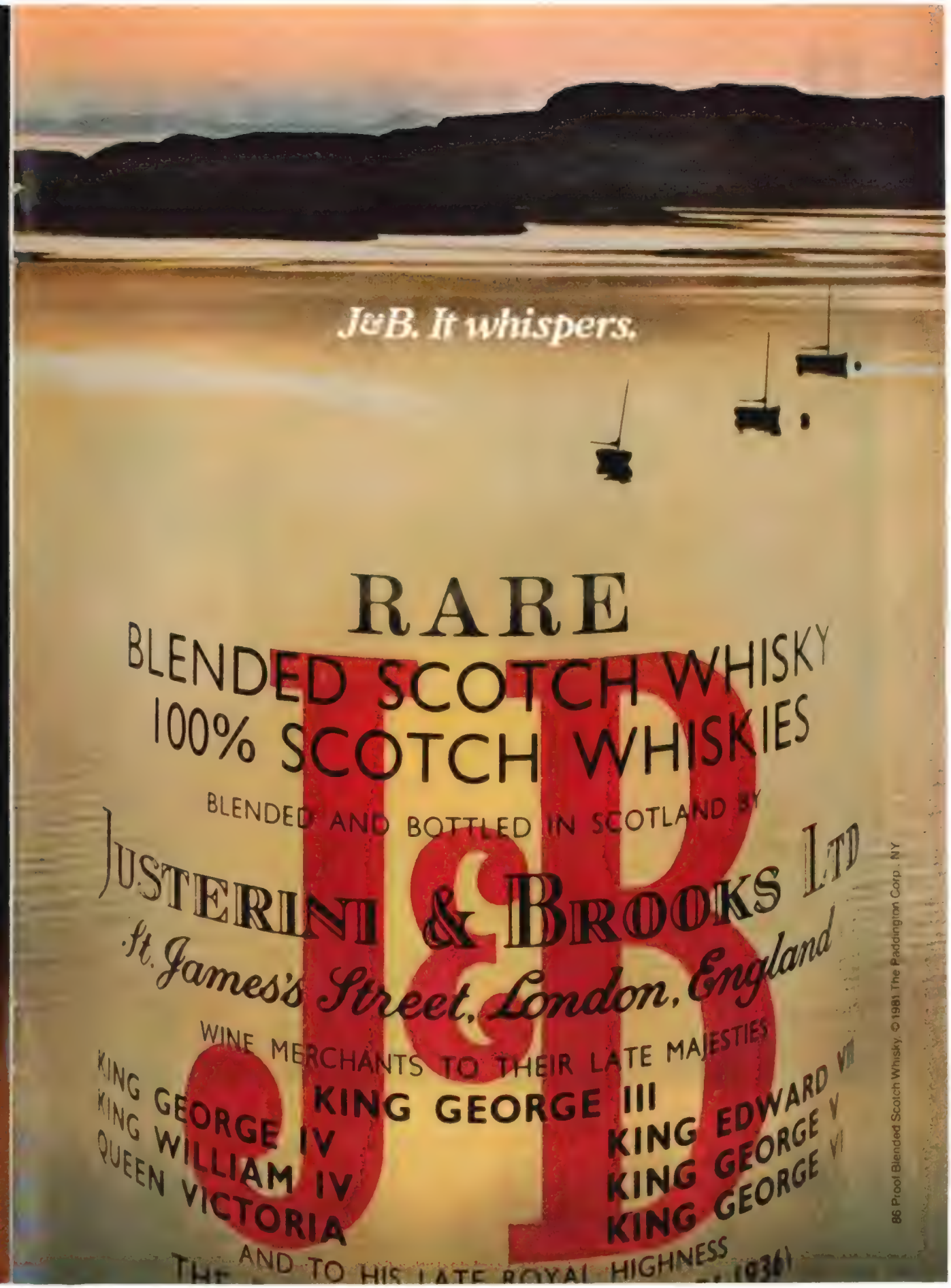
As Cain saw it, woman was the temptress, and Cora was a wailing siren —Circe in a highway diner. Jessica Lange's Cora is trapped, no less than Nick and Frank, by the grim imperatives of the Depression and her search for the deepest sense of identity through sex. The actress's presence and gestural eloquence provided Rafelson with this point of focus: Cora knows who she is and what men will do to possess her. A fraternity of appraising eyes follows her on the streets, in court, at the diner. One man—aging, sad-faced, respectably poor—emerges from the crowd to remark that they are from the same town; he brightens a moment as he adds simply, "Oh, you don't remember me, but I remember you." Jessica Lange deserves to be remembered as Cora. Her fierce commitment makes this *Postman* something more than the sum of its private parts.

■ ■ ■

As Cora in *The Postman*, Jessica Lange is tall and erect and self-possessed. Her anarchic blond hair frames a face dominated by classic cheekbones and sulfurous dark eyes, suggesting a Faye Dunaway who does not yet know she is beautiful. She has the strength and solidity of a heroic sculpture—Maillol's *Leda*, perhaps—a peasant-goddess rooted in the earth. With this performance, Lange has passed from the status of minor curiosity as the heroine of Dino De Laurentiis' *King Kong* to that of respected actress and, maybe, star. Jack Nicholson thinks so: he calls her "the sex star of the '80s."

Just now, the sex star has another

Lange poses for glamour shot
"An incredibly sensual woman."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priority, breast-feeding an eight-pound girl named Alexandra, the first child of Lange and Mikhail Baryshnikov, artistic director of American Ballet Theater. When he heard the news two weeks ago, Baryshnikov, who was in Buffalo with A.B.T., flew back to Manhattan to see his daughter. "She's beautiful," says Lange, 31, of Alexandra, who was delivered by natural childbirth. "I was enormously proud that she came into the world naturally. But then my baby is bright and alert. She made it easy." Lange seemed almost as pleased to talk about her other "first-born": the starmaking role she calls "the first real acting I've done."

Most actresses would have taken pride in the daft charm that Lange brought to her debut in *King Kong;* few actresses could have gracefully endured the *Kong* hype to which she was subjected. "I was naive," she says, "and it brought me pain. For a while I lost control over my own life. I didn't work for two years." So when Bob Rafelson walked into a motel room in North Carolina, where Lange was appearing in a threadbare sex comedy, she was ready to show him what moviegoers had missed. Rafelson recalls that he found "an incredibly sensual woman who made no effort to be sensual. I thought that if I could get this woman to be on-screen the way she was in repose, she would be utterly striking." He took her to Hollywood for screen tests with Jack Nicholson. Two years before, she had tested for Nicholson's *Goin' South*. She lost that part, but he sent her roses and a note that read: "I'm sure we'll work together some time soon. We will have lots of fun and make lots of money. Love, Jack."

As the child of a dreamer-drifter who changed jobs and home towns every two years, Jessica had developed an active fantasy life, seeing *Gone With the Wind* 14 times, writing letters as Rhett Butler to herself as Scarlett. Now she would invent a life for Cora, to flesh out the novel's sparse details. Says she: "I imagined Cora's movements from the Midwest to Hollywood. I painted her parents with people familiar to me. I was from the Midwest. I had worked as a waitress. I had a grasp of reality."

Nicholson says that the kitchen-table scene was acted "at a pretty high energy level. You film two people making love, and it is not simple sex. It moves out of reality into an erotic ballet that touches everything: compulsion, love, death. Jessica made me sexy. She does that. Few are the men who do not want to fall at her feet. She's a big, consensus movie sex bomb." Miss Scarlett, meet Mr. Butler.

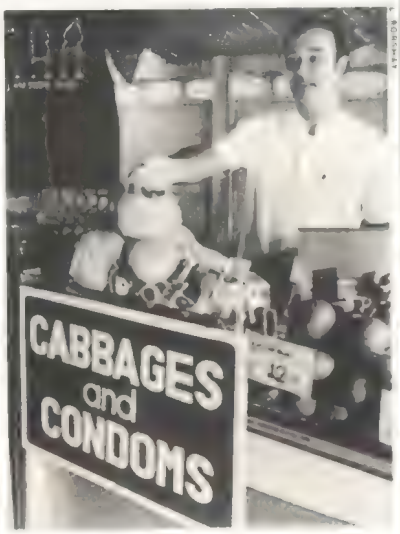
Lange is more modest, as befits an actress on whose erotic and dramatic appeal *The Postman* will succeed or fail at the box office. "That kind of ferocity can happen to any woman or man," she says. "When it happens, the emotions are magnified a hundred times. The erotic is basic to life, and it's basic to the film's story. If people see it that way, I'll be very pleased." —*By Richard Corliss. Reported by Dean Brelis/New York*

Sexes

Thailand's Mr. Contraception

Making family planning fun with games like "cops and rubbers"

Mechai Viravaidya's calling card is a condom. In Bangkok, ambassadors invite him to formal dinners, knowing that he will probably use the occasion to blow up a bright red prophylactic for the host and pass out multicolored birth control pills to the ladies. Sometimes he brings along his latest line in antifertility T shirts or panties bearing the message A CONDOM A DAY KEEPS THE DOCTOR AWAY. Once he passed out free condoms to the entire Bangkok police force, then announced it as his "cops and rubbers" program.



Mechai at Bangkok vegetable stand

Free vasectomies on the King's birthday.

Mechai's antic approach to family planning has made him a national hero. Condoms are now known as Mechais, a fact that he frequently bewails in mock despair. Half Scottish and related to the King of Thailand by marriage, Mechai, 40, is an economist by profession and, as director of Community-Based Family Planning Services, a performer by necessity. As most of the nation now knows, he will do anything to get his message across. Last year, on the King's birthday, he offered free vasectomies (146 accepted). He makes a prize stud hog available at half price to farmers who agree to practice contraception. He persuaded 241 Bangkok cab drivers to dispense condoms along with family-planning advice, and pays the taxi insurance for cabbies who send in 50 or more people for sterilization; so far, six drivers have qualified. At village fairs and festivals, he shows up in a well-polished minibus to deliver his snake-oil monologue on the glories of contraception, organizing balloon-blowing contests with condoms and teaching youngsters his hard-hitting song *Too Many Children Make You Poor.* Says he: "I wanted to remove the taboo, take birth control out of the realm of the secretive and make it fun."

Mechai's gimmicky campaign has been spectacularly successful in breaking down Thai inhibitions about contraception. The nation's population of 47.3 million is now growing at a rate of only 1.9% a year, against 3.3% a decade ago. Granted, much of the credit goes to the government, which aggressively pushes free condoms and pills. But some think Mechai, the father of one child, has done at least as much as the bureaucracy. His flair has popularized the program, and his private network of distributors has spread contraceptives deep into remote rural areas.

The vehicle for that network is his Family Planning Services, an organization funded by the Thai government and private grants from foundations in Japan, Canada and the U.S. The group has recruited residents of 16,000 villages to peddle pills and condoms: rice farmers, shopkeepers, silk weavers, fruit vendors, at least one undertaker and a golf caddy. "They are all respected people in the community," he says. "They are trusted." The volunteer family planners also help run Mechai's nonpregnancy agricultural credit program, which offers low-cost loans to farmers who avoid pregnancy until the loan is repaid.

Several factors help make family planning easier in Thailand than in other countries. One is the lack of strong religious and cultural barriers to contraception. Mechai has monks bless his contraceptive shipments and points out that Buddha had only one son. Another factor: Thai women have a high literacy rate and seem receptive to modern family planning. Says Mechai: "Thais are very sensible people. If something makes sense and works, they'll accept it."

Now Mechai, well known in U.N. family-planning circles, is branching out. The People's Republic of China called him in as a consultant last summer; he advised the Chinese to print contraceptive information on towels, ice cream sticks and bottle caps. In honor of Ronald Reagan's Inauguration, he sent the President and his wife a note saying, "We wish you and your friends increased productivity, subdued fertility and a better life for the New Year." He also sent along a box of Mechais and a card good for one free vasectomy. ■

Cabinet Members Brock, Lewis and Baldrige favor a voluntary curb on Japanese auto imports before a Senate subcommittee

In Search of a Trade Policy

Hard-liners vs. *soft-liners* vs. *just about everyone else*

Modern international trade floats on a sea of dilemmas, steered by contradictions. Official U.S. policy has been to encourage free trade since the first Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in 1934. But in practice trade has never been totally without restriction. It has been fettered by quotas, tariffs and political considerations. That is the reality the Reagan Administration is confronting as it searches for a trade policy that combines consistency and fairness

The vague outlines of the policy are now beginning to take shape. In a 15-page "white paper" on trade, drafted by the Cabinet-level Trade Policy Committee and scheduled for release next month, the Administration reaffirms its commitment to free trade as the goal of international commerce. But the study admits that certain unspecified industries may need time and Government prodding on investment and labor policies before they are ready to compete in world trade. The main message of the paper is that the U.S. must export more or suffer grave consequences because of apparently unstoppable outflows of money to pay for imported oil

That urgency seems undercut, however, by some Administration proposals. As part of its budget reductions, the White House wants to slash $600 million out of the $5 billion lending authority for the Export-Import Bank, which provides low-interest loans to foreign buyers of U.S goods. Such credits are often a key factor in determining which company will win an export contract. Countries like France and Japan offer attractive loans if a foreign company agrees to buy their products. American firms may now be at a disadvantage in competing with those exporters

Such ragged edges abound in the Reagan trade policy. There is, for example, what is becoming known as the "Brock Doctrine." William Brock, the chairman of the Trade Policy Committee and U.S. Trade Representative, calls for linking trade policy with other foreign policy considerations. The U.S. hypothetically might agree to forgo any restrictions on auto imports from Japan in exchange for larger Japanese spending on Western defense. Says Brock: "I'm not saying we should cut off exports or trade to pursue foreign policy objectives alone. But you cannot ignore the leverage that trade offers to our overall diplomatic posture."

The U.S. has always used trade to further political ends; the most recent example of this was the partial embargo on grain shipments to the Soviet Union after its invasion of Afghanistan. But there has never been a blanket declaration in advance of such a policy on so broad a scale President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig support the concept of linkage. But trade veterans decry it as naive. Says one former Carter trade official. "Brock wouldn't advocate such a policy if he had more time on the job." The "anti-linkage" argument is that trade cannot be turned on and off because of a shift in foreign policy. If the U.S. becomes known as an "unreliable supplier," countries will take their business elsewhere. Adds the official: "What would have happened during Viet Nam if we had threatened to cut off trade with Canada unless they returned our draft evaders?"

Other lights and shadows in the policy are becoming apparent. The Government will permit private companies to be more aggressive in selling nuclear technology to such countries as Brazil and Pakistan. The Carter White House temporarily blocked shipments of uranium to Japan four years ago because of a dispute over that country's plan to build a nuclear reprocessing plant. The Reagan Administration will pay less attention to questions of human rights violations in determining its trading partners. In 1977 Carter sought a ban on certain exports to Argentina as a protest against that country's human rights policy

The Administration will probably move to alleviate the tax burden of Americans working abroad. U.S. contractors are now sometimes forced to use foreign labor to keep their bids competitive for overseas work because U.S taxes make it too expensive to send U.S. workers abroad. The vague language of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977, aimed at stopping bribery to secure overseas sales, currently discourages some businessmen from getting involved in exports at all. The Administration is likely to support clarification of the law

There is still uncertainty about Administration intentions on trade with the

Soviet Union. Some Reagan officials say that they are only looking for a sign of reduced tensions in, say, Poland before increasing trade with Moscow. Says Brock of the Soviets: "We're waiting for a signal on how they are going to behave in the international community." The Administration's foreign policy hard-liners, though, are less interested in trade. The new man in the key position of granting export licenses for all Communist countries is Lawrence Brady, 41, Assistant Secretary for trade administration at the Commerce Department. Brady had been deputy director of the office of export administration from 1974 to 1980, when he resigned in a huff over his belief that the Carter Administration was being too liberal in granting export licenses. He points out, for example, that trucks produced in the Kama River plant, built with U.S. help, were used by the Soviets in the invasion of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the partial Soviet grain embargo continues, despite Reagan's campaign promises to end it. Administration officials fear that lifting the embargo would be seen by the Soviets as a sign of weakness. American farmers, who once loudly protested the embargo, do not seem to be hurting. Most of its ill effects have been offset by increased grain sales to China and Mexico.

The Administration will not be able to wait for the white paper before reaching a decision on its most pressing trade issue: auto imports from Japan. Last week the Reagan Cabinet remained split on the question. Brock, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige and Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis told a Senate subcommittee that they favor some voluntary slowing of Japanese car imports. Opposing trade restrictions are the Administration's top economic officials: Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, Budget Director David Stockman and Chief Economist Murray Weidenbaum. The President last week postponed a final decision in hopes of forging a compromise between the two groups while seeking concessions from the American auto industry on wages, investment and quality control.

The Japanese auto question has become the sharpest economic dilemma for the young Administration. A committed free trader, Reagan has also promised trade relief to auto workers. Said he in a campaign stop in Detroit last September: "I think the Government has a role to convince the Japanese that the deluge of their cars into the U.S. must be slowed while our industry gets on its feet." But hindering the availability of Japanese cars in the U.S. could result in substantially higher auto prices for American consumers and hurt the Administration's battle against inflation. The outcome of the Japanese auto issue will give a clear signal of the trade policy for the entire Reagan Administration. *—By John S. DeMott. Reported by David Beckwith and Gisela Bolte/Washington*

Shooting at Money Market Funds

Banks and S and Ls attack a popular rival

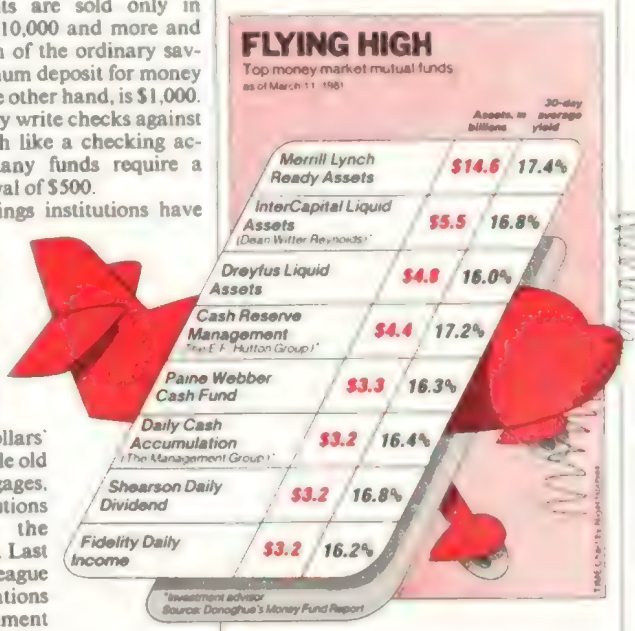
Money market funds have become a highflyer for savers. Like a bank, a money fund takes in deposits and pays them out on demand. But unlike a commercial bank, which is limited by the Federal Reserve to paying 5¼% interest, money market funds face no restrictions on the return they pay investors. At times during 1980, some yielded close to 18%. An estimated 5 million new money market fund accounts have been opened in the past three years, and last week the funds' assets went over $100 billion. But now banks and savings and loans have launched drives to bring them down.

Money market funds, which are usually run by large investment firms, put their deposits in short-term (less than 60 days) financial instruments like Treasury bills, certificates of deposit and commercial paper. These usually safe, high-yielding investments are sold only in denominations of $10,000 and more and are out of the reach of the ordinary saver. The usual minimum deposit for money market funds, on the other hand, is $1,000. Investors can usually write checks against their deposits, much like a checking account, although many funds require a minimum withdrawal of $500.

Banks and savings institutions have undoubtedly been hurt by the money funds, since their cheapest source of funds is deposits in checking accounts and low-interest passbook accounts. Saddled with billions of dollars' worth of unprofitable old low-interest mortgages, some thrift institutions are tottering on the edge of bankruptcy. Last week the U.S. League of Savings Associations urged the Government to impose sharp restrictions on the money market funds and asked the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation to pledge up to $7 billion in low-cost loans. Says Carroll Melton, league economist: "The money market funds are undermining the mortgage-lending and banking systems."

Congress has begun to act on those complaints. Senate Banking Committee Chairman Jake Garn of Utah wants to prevent money market funds from offering check-writing privileges; Congressman James Leach of Iowa has introduced a bill that would diminish the funds' appeal by setting reserve requirements on them. The money market funds are regulated by the Securities and Exchange Commission, but they, unlike banks, are not obliged to leave up to 12% of their deposits with the Federal Reserve. Such a requirement would increase costs for money market funds and reduce the interest they could pay.

The funds are also under heavy assault in several state legislatures. In Oklahoma, two bills are under consideration: one would make the funds register with the state banking commissioner, and the other would make them include in their advertising the fact that money fund accounts are not federally insured, as are bank and savings and loan deposits. In Massachusetts, a proposal has been made that would require the money market funds to make investments wherever depositors live. That would be like asking General Motors to set up a factory in each shareholder's home town. In Utah last week, however, the funds won one battle when the state house of representatives voted down a bill that would have banned money market funds from providing check-writing privileges.



Many investors and the money market funds are naturally fearful of any moves to limit these high-paying deposits. Says David Jensen, a Chicago lawyer who is moving his savings out of certificates of deposit and into a money market fund: "Restrictions on them would interfere with my free-enterprise right to get the best rate of interest." Adds Thomas Anderson, vice president of the Kemper Money Market Fund: "We have allowed the small saver to participate in the high yields that have long been available to only the large investor." Restrictions on the funds would be against the general policy of the antiregulation Reagan Administration, but pressure is growing to help the beleaguered savings and loans. ■

Decontrol Prepares for Lift-Off

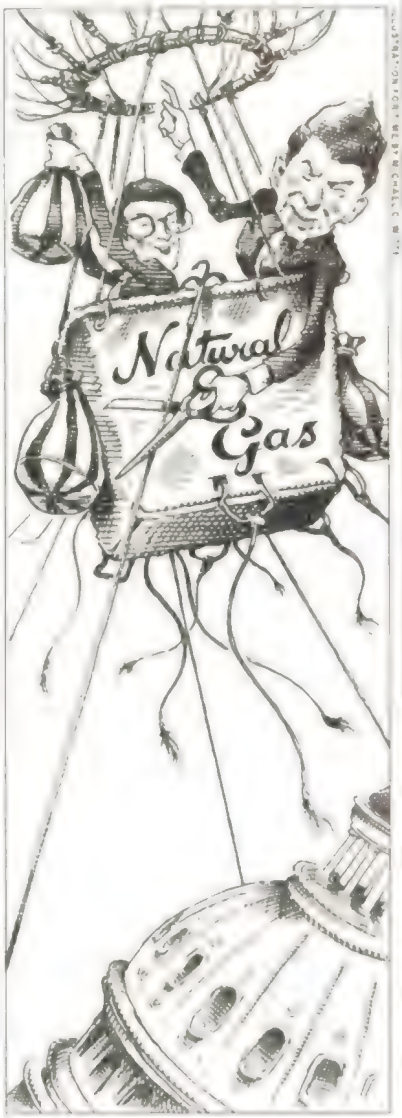
The Reaganauts take up the issue of natural gas prices

When it comes to riling Congress, few methods are more effective than calling for deregulation of the price of natural gas, the fuel that 55 million American families use to heat their homes or cook their meals. President Jimmy Carter learned that four years ago, when he pledged to work toward the phasing out of natural gas pricing regulations in his 1977 energy address to Congress. For 18 months, Congress squabbled over the gas question and held up passage of the entire energy legislation package. Now Ronald Reagan is preparing to take up the issue all over again, and the congressional reception is proving to be no better for him than for his predecessor.

During the 1980 presidential campaign, Reagan repeatedly called for gas decontrol as a way to boost exploration and supplies and cut dependence on foreign imported crude. When word leaked last week that the Administration intends to make good on that pledge, Congressmen reacted strongly. Warned Senate Democrat Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, who led the filibuster against the decontrol bill four years ago: "This body will be in session for a long time if the Administration decides to decontrol natural gas." Added Idaho Republican James McClure, chairman of the Senate Energy Committee: "Pressing for decontrol and getting it are two different things. I do not expect Congress to pass it this year."

Leading the drive to free natural gas prices is David Stockman, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. As the strongest voice in the Cabinet on economic matters and a committed proponent of letting market forces work as freely as possible, Stockman so far is overshadowing Reagan's Secretary of Energy James Edwards as chief Administration counselor on energy policy.

The starting point for any decontrol measure is the incredibly complex natural gas pricing system that now exists. Natural gas prices have been controlled at low levels by the Federal Government since 1954. In his 1977 bill, Carter initially sought to raise gas prices until they were equivalent, in terms of energy produced, to those of domestic oil. But the bill that was finally passed by Congress in November 1978 was a complicated compromise between gas producers and consumers that set up 23 separate pricing categories for the fuel. All old gas —generally defined as that discovered prior to April 20, 1977—will reach a projected maximum price under controls of $1.60 to $1.90 per thousand cu. ft. in 1985. Gas discovered in subsequent years can be sold at higher prices, reaching a projected maximum of about $4.54 per thousand cu. ft. at the wellhead in 1985. From that date onward, any additional discoveries will fetch the prevailing world market price.



The result of the 1978 law has been a labyrinthine torture chamber for gas producers. Under some long-term supply contracts that were written many years ago and are still in force, many producers are being compelled to sell gas for less than 30¢ per thousand cu. ft., even though the current ceiling price is about $2.64 per thousand cu. ft. Meanwhile, foreign suppliers like Mexico and Canada earn $4.82 per thousand cu. ft. and $4.47 per thousand cu. ft., respectively, for the gas they ship to the U.S. market.

Natural gas producers, who would earn stunning profits from decontrol, strongly support the Stockman proposals. They point out that raising the regulated price in 1978 brought about a boom in new gas drilling and discoveries. Unlike the winter of 1976-77, when the U.S. suffered through a severe shortage of the fuel, there is now a small natural gas glut. Furthermore, the price levels set in the 1978 act are badly out of date because of the oil cost increases after the Iranian revolution. Says C. John Miller, president of the Independent Petroleum Association of America: "We ought to have natural gas price decontrol immediately because we need the supplies of gas that would result."

On the other hand, the pipeline companies that transport the fuel and the utilities that burn it are just as strongly opposed to decontrol. Says Richard L. O'Shields, chairman of Houston's Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line Co., which both produces and transports natural gas: "Precipitous deregulation would result in confusion and chaos in the market for up to five years. The current act is working well in spite of its complexities, and we see no need to amend it."

Critics of decontrol maintain that because the lifting of price restrictions would result in a sharply higher cost for natural gas, the action might even increase American dependence upon foreign oil producers. According to a study by the American Gas Association, the pipeline and distribution industry trade group, the removal of all controls would send up gas prices to consumers by about 100% by 1982. During the first year alone, this would cost consumers upwards of $60 billion, as prices jumped on everything from home heating bills to products made by factories that rely on gas for fuel. Moreover, the association estimates that so many businesses and families would, therefore, convert from gas to oil-fired heating systems that petroleum imports would jump by 800,000 bbl. per day over and above the 6.3 million bbl. daily that the U.S. currently imports. Says one Department of Energy official: "If the Administration decides to go ahead with full decontrol, the shock will be sudden and probably pretty painful."

When the Administration begins to discuss the effects of decontrolling natural gas prices, it will face a skeptical public. In late January, Edwards confidently proclaimed that the President's decontrol of domestically drilled crude oil would add only 3¢ to 5¢ to the price of gasoline at the pump. But since the beginning of February, the price of the fuel has jumped by almost 10¢, to an average $1.42 per gal. for unleaded regular. If the decontrol of natural gas sends prices leaping as sharply, the Administration may wind up wishing that it had never mentioned the subject in the first place. —*By Christopher Byron. Reported by Gary Lee/Washington and Robert C. Wurmstedt/Houston*

SOMEDAY

we're going to see the other side
of the world. As soon as the kids
are grown. Or after retirement.
Or maybe after that.

Is that vacation of a lifetime really getting any closer? Or will you always have a wistful someday? It's really too bad, because the good values in air travel just might not be around next year. Your airline or travel agent can put you on a Boeing jetliner headed for your someday. Right this very day. Go. Soon. Before your somedays turn into never.

BOEING
Getting people together

It's crystal-clear.
It's a bit more expensive, but for an impeccable dry Martini,
the world comes to Gordon's.

Three's a Crowd in Videodiscs

Betting millions on something new for the family TV

The television set has long since evolved from a rare electronic marvel into a household appliance that is as ubiquitous as the kitchen stove. Now, a host of video products is appearing on the market that can transform the home TV from a passive machine capable of receiving broadcast programs into a versatile instrument permitting viewers to watch whatever programs they want, when they want. The latest entry in this market is videodiscs, machines that reproduce recorded programs or movies from a record-like platter onto the screen of any home television set. Next week, RCA Corp. will unleash an avalanche of advertising to launch its version, called SelectaVision. RCA has spent more than $150 million during the past 15 years to develop SelectaVision, and it will invest another $20 million more before the end of the year to promote it.

RCA, however, faces stiff competition in the new market. One rival videodisc system has been on the market since December 1978, and a third one is due out around Christmas. Each product is backed by one or more major electronics companies, and the systems are incompatible: the discs of one will not play on any system but its own. Moreover, all the videodiscs will be battling for scarce consumer dollars against an ever increasing array of home-entertainment products that ranges from giant-screen home projection devices and videotape recorders to television games and home computers.

The most sophisticated videodisc players currently available are Magnavision, a joint venture of the Dutch electronics firm Philips and the American entertainment company MCA, and LaserDisc, a product of the Japanese electronics firm Pioneer. Both use playback machines that read pictures and sound from a metallic record via a laser beam that never physically touches the platter. With LaserDisc the viewer can select which of the up to 54,000 frames on the record he wants to see by pushing buttons on a keyboard; each frame has its own number. For instance, on a disc that contains images of art masterpieces, a viewer could jump from a picture of Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* to Degas's *Ballet Scene* in a matter of seconds. Sound for the program can also be reproduced in stereo.

Industry sources say the laser system got off to a bumpy start. By the end of 1980, only about 35,000 of the expensive machines (cost: up to $779) had been sold. Although both of them are now nationally advertised, they were sparingly promoted at first. Only a limited number of programs had been available, and early discs sometimes stuck while being played.

RCA's SelectaVision is a simpler system that works more like a conventional record player. The viewer slips the disc, including the dust cover, into the front of the machine and then pulls the cover back out before the feature starts. A cartridge with a diamond stylus tracks 27,000 incredibly tiny grooves on the record to reproduce the picture. Unlike the laser system, the RCA device cannot find scenes at random or freeze a frame.

The RCA videodisc machine and programs it will play

Fighting for consumer dollars in a crowded market.

RCA believes that it has four advantages in selling its videodisc system: lower price, easier operation, a vast selection of programs and marketing strength. The less complicated SelectaVision machines will sell for $499.95, or nearly $300 less than laser systems. RCA will immediately offer 100 programs that range from the movie *Rocky* to demonstrations on baby care narrated by Dr. Benjamin Spock. Finally, SelectaVision will be sold in 5,000 stores under the RCA label, and a compatible system is being marketed by Zenith, Sears, Radio Shack and Hitachi under their own brand names.

Next fall a third videodisc system, VHD, will be introduced by Japan Victor Co., a subsidiary of the giant Matsushita Electric Industrial Co., and other firms. Although it uses a diamond stylus, like the RCA system, it will have the random access features and stereo sound capability similar to the laser systems. These machines will be priced somewhere between SelectaVision and the laser systems and sold in the U.S. under the Panasonic, JVC, Quasar and General Electric brand names.

Videodisc machines are marvelous instruments, but is there a market for them? Industry experts believe that videodiscs will initially be used primarily for old Hollywood movies. Says RCA Executive Vice President Herb Schlosser: "Motion pictures will make up at least 50% of the business at the beginning." Yet many observers wonder whether Americans will spend up to $30 to own their personal copy of a film that they will view only once or twice. Says Richard Ekstract, publisher of *Video Review* magazine: "You can watch *Gone With the Wind* or *The Wizard of Oz* more than two or three times. But for most of the stuff out there, it is not worth wasting your time."

Another unknown is how the videodiscs will fare in competition with videotape recorders. Machines like Sony's Betamax or Panasonic's OmniVision, which will record and replay movies or anything else shown on television, cost from $700 to $1,500. They were introduced in 1975 but only recently have begun to catch on. Some 2 million of them have now been sold, and sales last year jumped by 69%. Another 1.5 million are expected to be sold this year. Six-hour blank videotape cassettes, which can be used over and over again, cost only about $20, although tapes of recent movies are about $70. Says Wall Street Analyst Lee Isgur of Paine, Webber: "Probably 98% of the people who are exposed to videodisc and a videotape recorder for the first time will buy the tape recorder." Adds an industry watcher, Anthony Hoffman of the New York brokerage firm of A.G. Becker: "The question is not which videodisc system will win but whether the videodisc will sell at all."

The average American family now watches television for 6½ hours a day, but industry analysts say that when all the new devices are attached to the TV set, people may keep them on from sunup to bedtime. Electronics firms have now entered a billion-dollar battle that will determine which machines those consumers will be using. *—By Alexander Taylor. Reported by Mary Cronin/New York and Joseph J. Kane/Los Angeles*

Thomas D. Barrow, chairman of the copper mining company, in his Stamford, Conn., office

Big Oil Moves into Minerals

Sohio follows the pack by bidding for Kennecott

When Thomas D. Barrow, 56, resigned as a senior vice president of Exxon in 1978 to become chairman of Kennecott Corp., the nation's largest copper company (1980 sales: $2.3 billion), he probably figured that his days in the oil business were over. But suddenly last week Barrow found himself back with another oil company. Standard Oil of Ohio made a successful bid to buy Kennecott for $1.8 billion in cash.

The deal is a bonanza for shareholders of Kennecott. Before the agreement was announced, the company's stock was trading for about $27 a share; Sohio is willing to pay about $62. The acquisition also looks promising for Sohio, the U.S.'s 14th largest refiner. The company owns 33% of the trans-Alaska pipeline and has been turning North Slope crude into cash. Last year it had profits of $1.8 billion on revenues of $11 billion. Sohio, which already owns some coal and uranium mining operations, has been looking around recently for profitable places to spend its spare cash.

Sohio's proposed purchase of Kennecott marks the third time this month that companies flush with oil profits have sought to use that money to buy mineral and mining firms. Standard Oil of California bid $4 billion for the 80% it does not already own of Amax, which has vast reserves of molybdenum, a metal used to make special steel alloys, and nickel. Seagram Co., the whisky distiller, which sold $2.3 billion worth of Southwest oil and gas properties last month, has offered more than $2 billion for St. Joe Minerals, a producer of lead and zinc.

To industry observers, these corporate unions are as natural as marrying the girl next door. Minerals and mining give the oil companies an opportunity to use their expertise in geological exploration at a time when many other areas of diversification have been blocked. Asks Wall Street Analyst Joseph Clark of Wertheim & Co.: "Where else can the oil companies go?" They can hardly buy up more oil and gas properties without running afoul of antitrust laws. At the same time, oil companies' investments outside of natural minerals have often been bummers. Exxon has reportedly lost heavily on its venture into office equipment, and Mobil has been forced to pump millions into the Montgomery Ward retail chain that it bought in 1976. Moreover, natural resources look like a smart investment. President Reagan's pledge to increase defense spending should increase the demand for strategic materials. The stocks of many mining companies are currently depressed and thus are a good buy.

Wall Street investors expect that other mining companies will soon become targets for takeover bids. They include copper producer Phelps Dodge, Newmont Mining, a major copper and gold producer, and Asarco, the silver and copper concern. Notes Analyst Clark: "The idea is buy low, sell high. And I think copper prices will up faster than oil prices."

There may still be some fierce boardroom battles ahead, however. Some of the brides are a little reluctant. Last week directors of St. Joe Minerals rejected Seagram's $45 a share bid, calling it "grossly inadequate." Amax has also been cool to Socal's takeover offer, apparently in an effort to drive up the initial offer of as high as $86 a share.

Kennecott, on the other hand, was quick to accept the Sohio bid; it needs the fresh cash to modernize its machinery and protect itself from the vicissitudes of the world copper market. As for Barrow, last week's agreement calls for him to stay on as head of Kennecott and thus return to the oil business as a director of Sohio. ■

Suspicious Cut

Less money for petroprobes

Outraged congressional critics considered it the most shocking Executive pardon since Richard Nixon was let off the Watergate hook. Under the budget that President Reagan sent to Capitol Hill last week, the Department of Energy division charged with prosecuting oil companies for past violations of price-control regulations would have its annual allocation slashed from $35 million to $6 million. Fumed Democratic Congressman John Dingell of Michigan: "This adds up to amnesty for the oil companies and the public be damned."

Since its creation in 1977, the special DOE office has accused 33 of the 35 largest oil producers and refiners of price overcharges and other offenses amounting to $11 billion. Before leaving office, the Carter Administration dropped $3.5 billion of the claims against 15 companies after they agreed to make cash payments totaling $550 million to consumers and the Government. But many of the biggest firms, including Exxon, Texaco and Mobil, refused to settle. In view of the new President's budget proposals, they may have been wise. Says Paul Bloom, who headed Carter's oil-price investigation: "These cutbacks would constitute a death blow to any credible effort to pursue prosecutions against major refiners."

Some of Reagan's own Energy Department staffers share that opinion. Avrom Landesman, the man now in charge of prosecuting the oil companies, told a House Government Operations subcommittee last week that he had written a report describing how the reduced budget would cripple his efforts. But his new superiors at DOE, Landesman testified, urged him to rewrite the report and downplay the impact of the budget cuts. An internal DOE memo obtained by Subcommittee Chairman Toby Moffett of Connecticut maintained that the oil probe could earn the Treasury at least $600 million in additional payments from the companies—much more than would be saved by budget reductions.

These revelations caused congressional Democrats to question Reagan's motives in the spending cuts. Said Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts: "If this was a budget decision, then I'm Lady Diana Spencer." Added Congressman Thomas Lantos of California: "Calling this a budget decision is a smokescreen. It's a policy change based on the Administration's relationship with the oil companies." Responding just as vehemently, Energy Secretary James Edwards insisted that the prosecutions would proceed even under the new budget. Said he: "By God, there'll be no amnesty." Meanwhile, the oil companies sit silently and survey the confusion. ■

Medicine

Coffee Nerves

Is there cancer in the cup?

More than half the population over age ten gulps down coffee at an average rate of two cups a day. To coffee lovers the black brew is an elixir that soothes frazzled nerves, gives the mind a lift at exam time, spells drop-in hospitality to the housewife. Yet in recent years coffee has been tentatively tied to various afflictions, including diabetes, heart attack, and cancer of the colon, urinary tract and stomach. Last week Harvard University researchers announced a statistical link between coffee and cancer of the pancreas. The pancreas produces enzymes vital to digestion and the hormone insulin for sugar metabolism. Pancreatic cancer claims 22,000 lives a year. It is the fifth largest cause of cancer death in the U.S., behind cancer of the lungs, colon, breast and prostate. It is also virtually incurable: fewer than 2% of patients survive five years after diagnosis.

Epidemiologist Brian MacMahon and his team stumbled upon the association while studying the effects of smoking and alcohol in 369 patients with pancreatic cancer who had been admitted to eleven New England hospitals between 1974 and 1979. The patients were questioned in detail about their use of tobacco and alcohol and incidentally about their drinking of tea and coffee. Their answers were then compared with those obtained from a control group of 644 patients hospitalized for different forms of cancer and for some nonmalignant diseases as well.

The study, reported in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, found no link between pancreatic cancer and use of cigars, pipe tobacco, alcohol or tea. However, it did show that the chances of having the disease were slightly increased in the case of cigarette smokers. But researchers were surprised to find a notable rise in pancreatic cancer among coffee drinkers. Compared with its occurrence in patients who did not drink coffee at all, the disease was two times as frequent among people who drank one or two cups a day and three times as frequent among those drinking three or more cups. What ingredient of coffee might account for the higher risk is a mystery. Caffeine itself seems to be exonerated because heavy tea drinkers showed no higher incidence of cancer.

There have been hints of a link between coffee and pancreatic cancer before. The Harvard team points to a study ten years ago that indicated pancreatic cancer occurred more frequently in countries where coffee consumption was high. Mormons and Seventh-day Adventists, who generally do not use coffee (or cigarettes), have low rates of the disease. There has also been a case of simultaneous cancers in a husband and wife —a rare occurrence. Perhaps significantly, both added extra coffee syrup to their ground coffee before percolating it. The researchers speculate that half the 24,000 new cases of pancreatic cancer each year might be the result of coffee drinking.

The news alarmed coffee drinkers, triggered news stories on television and in the papers, inspired a number of bad jokes during the coffee break. ("Good till the last drop.") Some people switched to tea or milk. Others felt guilty as they went on enjoying coffee as usual. But after the report was released the price of coffee on the futures market did not drop. It went up slightly. Critics of the study, including the National Coffee Association, representing a $7 billion-a-year industry, point out several drawbacks in the study. The hospitalized patients were simply asked how many cups of coffee a day they were accustomed to drink before their illness; no attempt was made to find out how long they had been drinking coffee, whether or not they favored decaffeinated brands, or if they took it strong or weak, black or with milk, cream, sugar or artificial sweeteners. These variables might also have had an effect on the disease. Because the control group was already hospitalized, it also does not represent a satisfactory sample of the population. Perfectly healthy people may have swilled down five cups a day for years with no ill effects.

The researchers acknowledge that more information is needed before a firm conclusion can be drawn. "I don't think it's time to put on the missionary role yet," says Dr. MacMahon, who used to be a three-cup-a-day man. "But I will tell you that I myself have stopped drinking coffee." ■

Cures That Kill

A caution on drugs and surgery

Patients have long been aware that doctors sometimes kill as well as cure. Doctors have long insisted that medically caused mishaps do not occur in significant numbers. Now two medical research teams in Boston have challenged that assumption. One team, led by Geriatrics Specialist Knight Steel, found that out of 815 patients admitted during five months of 1979 to a hospital at the Boston University Medical Center, 290 suffered almost 500 medical mishaps. More than 200 of these complications were due to drugs. An additional 175 resulted from other treatments or diagnostic tests. These mishaps contributed to the death of 15 patients. At the Brigham and Women's Hospital, Surgeon Nathan Couch and colleagues reviewed the cases of 5,612 patients admitted for surgery in 1978 and 1979. According to Couch, medical mishaps (costing at least $1.3 million in extra care) occurred in 36 patients, leading to serious physical impairment in five people and the death of eleven. Says Couch: "Obviously, we are not dealing with an irreducible number of complications."

Couch attributes surgery-related mishaps to clearly avoidable errors by doctors who were too quick to operate, too confident of their skills and techniques, and too concerned with doing currently fashionable procedures. By contrast, Steel feels it is often impossible to assign blame for complications that occur among general medical patients, and that this is even more true for the many elderly patients with multiple ailments in the study. The complex of diagnostic tests and drugs used makes it difficult to isolate any one cause of trouble. Says Steel: "I don't really know for certain if any of these cases are preventable. It is all too difficult to judge."

Though increasing fear of malpractice suits and touchy medical egos make candor difficult, both Steel and Couch urge more open, self-critical discussions of medical mishaps by physicians and hospital staffs. Says Couch: "If you hear about some mistake, you certainly are less apt to repeat it. It's a cheap way to gain experience." The teams also recommend that doctors keep patients and families fully informed throughout the hospital stay. "Doctors often underestimate a patient's intelligence," notes Couch, "as well as the family's willingness to be cooperative."

Judging by their colleagues' initial reactions to the reports, the research teams think it may be a long time before physicians squarely face up to responsibility for medical mishaps. Adds Steel: "The profession tends not to monitor such problems." ■

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Leonardo's study of a star-of-Bethlehem plant

From the "deluge" series: a mountain range burst open and falling into a lake

Art

The Apocalypse on a Postcard

At New York's Metropolitan Museum, the drawings of Leonardo

Who were the three greatest draftsmen in the history of Western art? There would be room for argument at the lower end of the ranking (Dürer? Raphael? Ingres?). But of the first two there can be little doubt. One was Michelangelo; the other was Leonardo da Vinci. The bastard son of a Florentine notary, Leonardo was born in 1452 and died in 1519. Almost from the moment that he emerged from Verrocchio's workshop in the 1470s and began his long, peripatetic and disappointed life among the courts of Rome, Milan, France and his home town, Florence, his graphic power was a source of utter astonishment to his contemporaries. When commentators applied the adjective *divino* to him (as they regularly did, in a conventional way, from the beginning of the 16th century onward), they implied that his talent was godlike in a nearly literal sense: just as the creator of the physical world knows all the secrets of its structure, so Leonardo's insatiable curiosity and apparently tireless power of scrutiny and notation had raised his art to an epic level of knowledge.

It still seems epic to us. There can never be another Leonardo, because no man today can even hope to encompass as many of the available facts about the natural world and its contents within the frame of 20th century knowledge as Leonardo gathered within the frame of his own time. Such a man, today, would necessarily be the victim of specialization. But Leonardo knew more than anyone else in the late 15th century about statics, dynamics, hydraulics, geology, paleontology, optics, aerodynamics and anatomy. In the realms of craftsmanship, from the construction of domes and earthworks to the casting of cannon to batter them down, he seems to have known at least as much as any guild master. Nobody else in his time or culture had such a range of interests. Nor did anybody else share his depth of pessimism; for Leonardo, in his old age, was not Edison but King Lear, obsessed to the point of anguish by human insignificance and apocalyptic doom.

Enigmatic "pointing lady"

The instrument for expressing all this was his drawing. The existing corpus of Leonardo's drawings and notes is no more than a fragment of his life's work, now mutilated and dispersed; still, it runs to thousands of pages, some 600 of which are in the collection of the English royal family at Windsor Castle. In aesthetic terms the Windsor drawings are of incomparable interest, not least because they include so many of Leonardo's most developed studies of inanimate nature—plants, landscapes, the effects of weather and light. A group of 50 of these nature studies (including his "deluge" drawings) is now on view at New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art, after having been shown during the winter at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, Calif. To these, the Met has added a group of Leonardo drawings and some related prints from its own collection. The show is curated by the leading active expert in Leonardo studies, Carlo Pedretti, with a catalogue preface by his predecessor in that role, Kenneth Clark. The result is a triumph of connoisseurship and presentation, as well as a demonstration of the real meaning of the verb "to draw."

What mesmerizes one, at first, is the technique. Most of the sheets are very small, and the detail in some of them is carried out at an almost microscopic level—a difficult enough feat with "hard" tools like pen or silverpoint, but an impossible one (or so one would suppose) with red crayon. One of the minor technical mysteries surrounding Leonardo's work was how he made his chalk hard enough to hold a needle point when sharpened. The steadiness of his hand was almost inhuman—helped, no doubt, by the diet of fruit and water he was always recommending to others, and by his justified refusal to have anything to do with Florentine doctors. Until well into his 60s, he was producing postage-stamp drawings, such as his studies of the Adda River in Lombardy, whose intensity of de-

tail can hardly be appreciated by the naked eye.

This power of detailed synthesis was not the end of drawing, however, only the means. Leonardo could bring a steely exactitude and transparent freshness of observation to a botanical drawing, like the star-of-Bethlehem plant that he drew as a study for his lost painting of Leda and the swan. Yet the consciously serpentine wreathing of its leaves proclaims the image to be formed as much by style as by the impulse to "objective" description. The two work perfectly together. To see why, one may look at the most famous of his water studies, the image of water gushing from a pipe into a cistern. There seems to be no doubt, as Kenneth Clark pointed out a generation ago, that Leonardo's eye was preternaturally fast; he could grasp and isolate fractions of movement in time with a precision that would only be confirmed, more than four centuries later, by strobe photography. So with his drawing: the reflux of foam, the chrysanthemum-like poppling of the back eddies on the surface, the strings and rings of bubbles are seen with astounding acuity, as is the rendering of different levels of water motion in the transparent depth of the cistern.

The motion of water was Leonardo's key image of natural energy: braiding, coiling, spiraling, impartially taking form as hair, or leaves, or even wind. This apprehension of energy acted upon his drawings almost irrespective of their mood. It is present, for instance, in the exquisite black chalk study of the "pointing lady" standing by a stream, with her veil-like gathering and wreathing of drapery *all' antica:* a Leonardesque muse if ever there was one, pointing with a mysterious smile of affirmation toward something we cannot see. But its tragic form is in his visions of universal disaster.

The most worked-out emblem of Leonardo's pessimism occurs toward the end of his life, in the 1510s, with the deluge drawings. In them, the spiral that was his sign for life becomes the symbol, and instrument, of ultimate destruction. Perhaps the germ of these drawings lay in his witnessing, as Clark has suggested, some great flood resembling the one that hit Florence in 1966. In those rhythmical, abstract spirals, like vast shavings from a plane, that emanate from the tumbling mountain, the exploding lake and the destroying clouds, Leonardo found his sign for the dissolution of all matter: infinite energy, seen with detachment. These were his final answer to the Renaissance ideal of man as the measure of all things, and to the comforting delusion that human beings occupy the center of the universe. Michelangelo took a whole fresco to describe the end of the world—one kind of achievement. Leonardo managed to put it, so to speak, on the back of a postcard, which may be one reason why we still want to claim him, despite our ignorance of him and his vast cultural distance from us, as a modern artist. —*By Robert Hughes*

From Freud to Bicycling Monks

After 45 pictorial years, the Bettmann Archive is sold

A harried advertising executive was on the phone, demanding a print of the *Mona Lisa*. Since he was talking to Manhattan's Bettmann Archive Inc., which has more than 5 million pictorial representations covering every subject from cave painting to moon walking, he had certainly called the right place. Did he want black and white or color? "I don't want the usual thing!" barked the adman. "How about a side view?" It was one of the few requests that the archive has ever been unable to fill.

The archive was founded in 1936 with two steamer trunks of old prints brought out of Nazi Germany by a scholarly, enterprising Jewish immigrant named Otto Bettmann. Since then, Bettmann, who has

Founder Bettmann in his Manhattan office

A cataloguing system based on Bach?

a Ph.D. in history from the university of his native Leipzig, has built it into one of the nation's leading suppliers of historical illustrations to book publishers, magazines, television and films. Some of the archive's vast repository has even showed up on T shirts and cereal boxes. Last week the founder—now a dapper, energetic 77—and Hans P. Kraus, a Manhattan rare-book dealer, announced that the Bettmann Archive was being sold to the Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., a small international publishing firm.

For Bettmann the sale is not a misty-eyed occasion. "I hate nostalgia," he says, stroking his neat, silver goatee, "but I've made a hell of a living from it." Indeed, one of the nine books he wrote or collaborated on is titled *The Good Old Days —They Were Terrible*. Bettmann is one of those rare creatures, an optimistic humanist. His belief that the world is not going directly to ruin has led to one of the main reasons for the archive's success: historical pictures add a depth of understanding to current events. Explains Bettmann: "Why show students protesting at Berkeley? Everyone's seen that. We've got a woodcut of Yale students rioting a hundred years ago. That tells you something."

The archive flourished with the rise of photojournalism and the launching of magazines like LIFE and *Look* during the 1930s. "Unlike Europeans, Americans are insatiable for their own history visually," says Bettmann. "They were discovering themselves in these photos." One of his first big tasks was to select 300 pictures for an editor planning a world history. Bettmann delivered in three weeks, from prehistoric times through World War I.

Nowadays, nearly half of the 50 requests that reach the archive daily are from advertising firms. A dozen specialists rummage through the archive's 5,000 major categories ("itching," "mothers-in-law," "strange births") in search of the usual ("Send me everything on marijuana") and the unusual (a picture of a stained-glass window showing monks riding bicycles). Requests for pictures that the staff believes to be nonexistent are met with gentle regrets. Among the most frequently sought-after the sinking of the *Titanic*, the Earl of Sandwich eating a sandwich, and the elusive Gabriel Fahrenheit, developer of the thermometric scale, an authentic picture of whom would earn a $1,000 reward from the archive. Fees for the archive's service (exclusive of royalties) can range from $50 to $3,000.

The most often requested subject is Sigmund Freud. "He outsells Jesus," says Bettmann. He makes the remark with some distaste, since he holds psychology responsible for what he considers the deplorable contemporary cult of personality. "Photography today is all closeups," he notes. "All surfaces. Look at Mathew Brady's work. It had a lovely murkiness, style, flavor. He captured souls."

Bettmann has always been a discerning judge of quality, discarding most of the 100,000 photos he reviewed each year for possible inclusion in the collection. "You could start your own archive from my wastebasket," he says. But one would need the key to the complicated and precise Bettmann cataloguing system, which, he claims with a smile, "is based on Bach. It's all in the music." As it happens, Bettmann, now retired in Florida, plans to devote his time to his "hang-up," a biography of Bach. "I'm a scholar, a bookman," he says. "I am not personally crazy about visual media."

He thinks the archive will do just fine without him. "Maybe in 50 years no one will be able to read—then the collection will be more valuable than ever," he suggests. "Human history is like being a pilgrim to Jerusalem—two steps forward, one back. And folks worry about technology. Personally, I like it. When I can't sleep, I listen to Bach on my Sony Walkman. That's progress." And that's the real side view from Bettmann. ■

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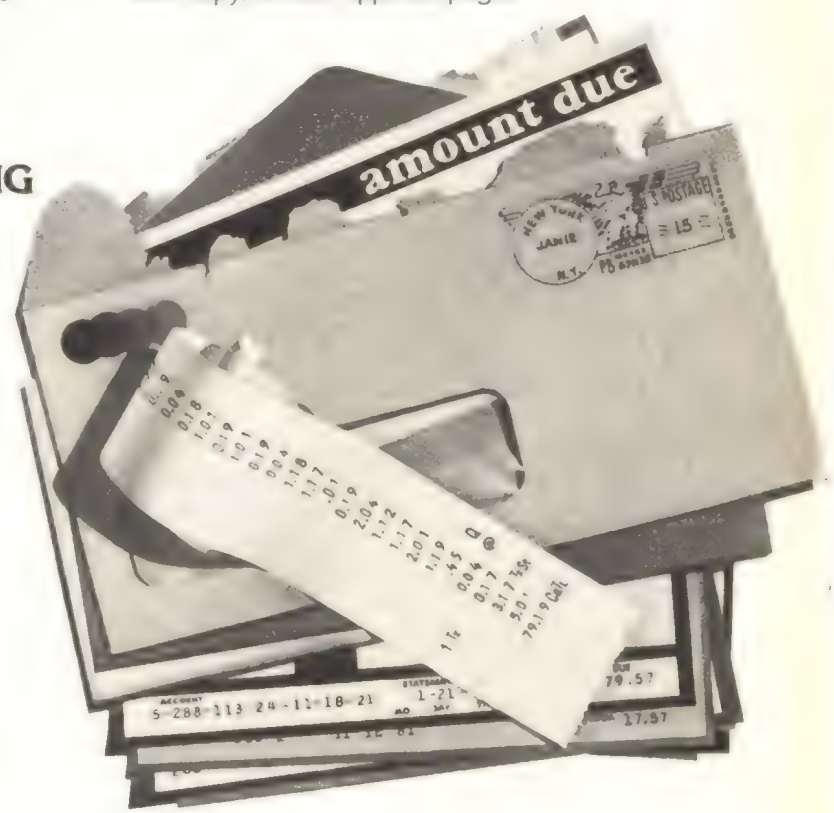

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Giving New Composers a Hearing

Groups like Speculum Musicae perform contemporary works

When Haydn wanted to hear his latest work, he needed only to stroll over to the Esterházy court orchestra, put the score on the stands and wait a while. Before long, the musicians would give the piece a vigorous tryout. What is more, as a servant of an 18th century prince, Haydn was expected to provide new compositions with regularity. Modern composers no longer have to wear livery, or write on demand, but neither are they assured of having their music performed. Soloists are often indifferent or even hostile; orchestras and opera companies rely mostly on time-tested classics to please their patrons.

In response, the peculiarly 20th century phenomenon of the new-music ensemble has sprung up. Such groups consist of virtuoso players who come together for one purpose: to give contemporary music a hearing. One of the best-known is Speculum Musicae (mirror of music), celebrating its tenth anniversary this year with a series of three concerts at Manhattan's Symphony Space.

"No other group has done so much of my music so well," says Composer Elliott Carter. "Often contemporary music is shown to its worst advantage, like an art exhibit that is displayed without lighting. The works tend to be done indifferently and not very persuasively."

On last week's program a commissioned work, *Ausencias*, by Venezuelan Alvaro Cordero-Saldivia, was forgettable. It is a busy, dense-textured work that seeks to combine elements of Afro-American music with academic compositional procedures—what the composer calls "a gradual unfolding of two musics that have a totally contrasting profile." Yet the whole proved less than the sum of its parts. Far more expressive was John Harbison's *Samuel Chapter* (1978), for soprano and small ensemble. Composer Harbison presents an episode from the Old Testament's *First Book of Samuel* in a deliberately archaic way, lending his work an austere, ceremonial quality that suits the text well.

An arrangement for piano trio of Schoenberg's *Verklärte Nacht*, made in 1932 by Eduard Steuermann, emphasized in its piano writing Schoenberg's debt to Brahms. The piece is mainly a curiosity, for the piano can hardly compensate in either weight of tone or sustaining power for the missing quartet of strings. Jon Deak's *Sinister Tremors* (1977), for clarinet, percussion and tape, is more theatrical than Speculum's customary fare; at one point, a table containing pie tins, boards, broken glass and other objects is knocked over, simulating an avalanche. This frankly humorous melodrama about a terminally unlucky Klondike gold rusher has one foot in the music hall, the other in the concert hall. It was booed almost as lustily as it was applauded.

Speculum Musicae poses for an anniversary portrait before their Manhattan concert

Schoenberg, Afro-American echoes and an avalanche of pie tins and broken glass

The ensemble began as the dream of a few close friends, most with Juilliard backgrounds, who had been freelancing around the new-music scene in New York City. "We would fantasize about the ideal group," Pianist Ursula Oppens told TIME's Nancy Newman. "It would have infinite rehearsal time to prepare wonderful pieces and play them wonderfully." A pair of concerts at Manhattan's Public Theater early in 1971 and a six-week residency at Dartmouth that summer convinced them that there was a market for their dream. With the acquisition of a manager, Speculum was on its way.

If there is a consistent criticism, it is that the group's repertoire is too narrow, overly devoted to a group of academic composers—Carter, 72, Charles Wuorinen, 42, Donald Martino, 49—based in the Northeast. "It was the natural thing for us to do," insists Clarinetist Virgil Blackwell. "We live in the East, we come into contact with these composers." Speculum has begun exploring other styles—it has commissioned a work from Minimalist Steve Reich for next season—but still avoids music that requires extensive improvisation. It generally steers clear of "theater" pieces, which call on the musicians to act as well as play.

Speculum's predilection for one school has, however, had a beneficial effect. Composers complain that the second performance of a new work is harder to get than the first; pieces are often commissioned, played once and then forgotten. Although Speculum presents many premieres, it has also tried to give good music a chance to catch on. Certain pieces —Carter's *A Mirror on Which to Dwell*, Wuorinen's *Speculum Speculi* and Martino's Pulitzer-prizewinning *Notturno* —are played fairly frequently.

The influence of Speculum and ensembles like it—the Contemporary Chamber Ensemble and Da Capo Chamber Players—has been obvious. A decade ago, many professors were dismissing new music as a waste of time. Unorthodox techniques like multiphonics (the simultaneous production of more than one note on such normally single-toned instruments as the flute) or reaching into the piano to pluck its strings were considered irrelevant to Bach, Mozart and Brahms. Yet some of the teachers' most talented students were busy reading books like Bruno Bartolozzi's seminal *New Sounds for Woodwind*, published in 1967.

In 1964 Wuorinen, a kind of spiritual godfather to Speculum, observed: "New music is in fact not so difficult to perform as people think. The problems experienced by performers in dealing with it are the result of their having been trained in a tradition of no relevance to its performance requirements."

Today, contemporary music ensembles have proliferated in cities and on college campuses. A generation of young players has grown up for whom modern music and its demands hold few terrors. Not that they are getting rich performing it. Annual pay for Speculum members averages $2,500, despite the fact that they have spent up to 100 hours preparing a new piece. Rehearsals sometimes begin at 11 p.m., after the nine players in the group finish other freelance jobs. "The demands," Oppens admits, "are absolutely grueling." Carter observes that "it is hard to keep such an organization going. Each year is a struggle." Struggle or not, Speculum's sights are still set high. Says Blackwell: "We want to play 20th century music better than any other group." ■

Israeli soldier on guard at the Gaza dig

Archaeologists clean away accumulated sand and dirt from human-shaped Egyptian coffin

Science

Why Moses Went the Long Way

A find in Gaza sheds new light on the riddle of the Exodus

The biblical account of the Exodus does not answer a tantalizing question. Why did Moses turn right when he reached the Sinai, taking his flock on an arid, roundabout 40-year odyssey, instead of heading directly along the Mediterranean coast to the promised land?

Trude Dothan

The Old Testament hints that Moses headed inland to avoid a confrontation with the Philistines. Yet archaeological findings have long indicated that at the time of the Exodus—about the 13th century B.C.—the Philistines had not yet established themselves in the coastal region around Gaza. Now after nearly ten years' digging in the Gaza Strip, Archaeologist Trude Dothan, 57, of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, has found indications that the Israelites went into the desert to elude not the Philistines but the very people from whom they were escaping—Egyptians. The evidence: the remains of a large Egyptian community just south of Gaza that flourished during the reign of Moses' putative foe, the Pharaoh Ramses II.

After the Six-Day War in June 1967, Dothan noticed that Arab antiquity shops in the Old City of Jerusalem—just conquered by Israeli troops—were stocked with ancient Egyptian artifacts. When Dothan asked where they came from, the dealers specified Hebron, in the mountains south of Jerusalem. That was clearly a tall tale; some of the artifacts—jewelry, clay masks, even coffins—still bore grains of yellow Mediterranean sand.

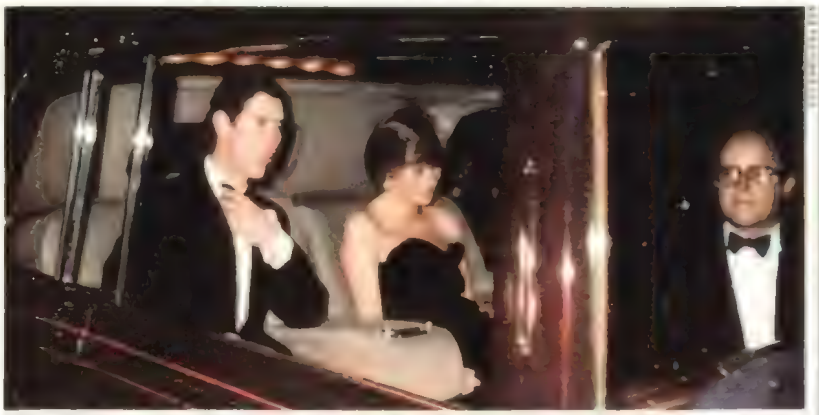
Dothan suspected that the antiquities came from the Gaza Strip, which Israel had also occupied during the war. She took her hunch to then Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, an avid amateur archaeologist and collector. Three months later he not only told her where the Egyptian materials came from—how he found out he never revealed—but also provided a military escort to the site near the Arab town of Deir el Balah, about 18 miles southwest of Gaza.

Dothan quickly spotted numerous fragments of old pottery, including bits similar to the Egyptian-style artifacts in Jerusalem. Since there were signs that grave robbers had been at work, Dothan wanted to start excavating immediately. But terrorism was still rampant in the Gaza Strip; it was three years before the army let her team begin. Even then, a squad of soldiers always stood guard and allowed no digging after 4 p.m. Dothan was not deterred. To help locate promising sites, she hired as her foreman a Bedouin named Hamad who had been doing some freelance digging on his own. As he walked over the dunes, he would hold a long screwdriver before him like a divining rod and mutter in Arabic, "*Yom assal, yom bassal* [One day it is honey, one day it is onions]."

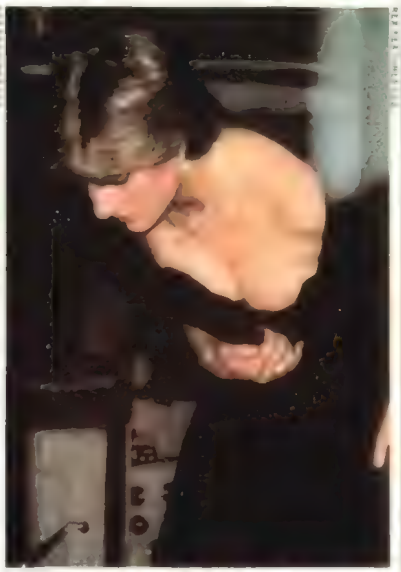
The diggers struck real honey in 1972. They found a so-called anthropoid coffin—one roughly shaped like a body—containing the bones of a man, a woman and two small children. Next summer, more coffins were unearthed, all decorated with human masks, wigged in the Egyptian manner and topped by Egyptian lotus flowers. Inside were the remains of long-faced, large-skulled people of apparently Egyptian origin. For their voyage to the nether world, they were accompanied by such Egyptian burial adornments as seals and scarabs, solid-gold teardrop earrings, beads of gold and carnelian (reddish quartz), lotus-shaped alabaster goblets. The coffins even contained alabaster spoons, in the shape of a swimming girl, to apply cosmetics. Some of the seals bore the name of Ramses II.

During last season's digging, Dothan made her most impressive find to date: 300 yds. south of the burial ground, her bulldozers uncovered foundations of what appears to be a large official residence, containing some 15 rooms, dating back to the 14th century B.C. Mud-brick walls of a second residence, atop the first, traced directly to the era of Ramses II.

In Cairo, the press glowingly, and incorrectly, trumpeted that an Israeli professor had found a pharaoh in Gaza. Newspapers in other Arab countries tried to turn science to political advantage by claiming the find was proof that Palestinians had been in Gaza for more than 3,000 years. —*By Frederic Golden. Reported by Marlin Levin/Jerusalem*



Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer making their first formal appearance since engagement



Lady Di clutches her décolletage

"Shy Di" Makes a Daring Debut

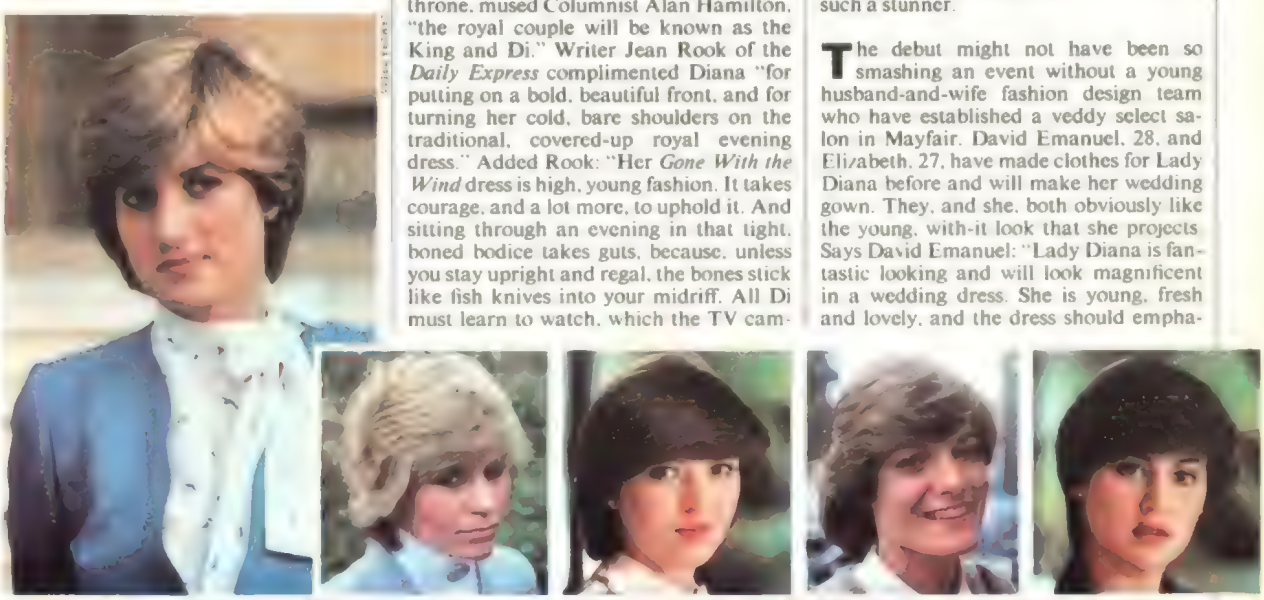
The Queen-to-be's glamorous new image leaves Britain gasping

Spiking the stale beer of Britons' discontent—deepening recession, wallet-walloping new taxes—came a tulip glass of bubbly named Di. When blond, blue-eyed, 19-year-old Lady Diana Spencer made her first formal appearance last week as the fiancée of the Prince of Wales, she left the island gasping. Attending a benefit recital at the Goldsmiths' Hall —close to St. Paul's Cathedral, where the royal couple will be married July 29—the Queen-to-be stepped out in a strapless, black silk-taffeta evening gown that radiated a wolf-whistle glamour not associated with Britain's ruling ladies for generations. (But certainly in the tradition of England's first Princess of Wales, the fair wife of Edward, the Black Prince. Holding forth in English-ruled Bordeaux in the 1360s, the Princess scandalized a local lord with her "luxurious trimmings and low-cut bodices.") It was clear from the décolletage that the gown was not a couturier's illusion. Lady Di filled it to overflowing. Said one observer: "I thought she was going to take a deep breath and fall out of it."

LADY DI TAKES THE PLUNGE, punned a *Daily Mirror* headline. DI THE DARING, exclaimed the *Sun*, which ran one picture of her on the front page and three more inside. The *Daily Express* said flatly that "a crowd of 200 gasped" as Lady Di stepped out of her limo. Even the *Times* of London permitted itself a slight whimsicality. When Prince Charles ascends the throne, mused Columnist Alan Hamilton, "the royal couple will be known as the King and Di." Writer Jean Rook of the *Daily Express* complimented Diana "for putting on a bold, beautiful front, and for turning her cold, bare shoulders on the traditional, covered-up royal evening dress." Added Rook: "Her *Gone With the Wind* dress is high, young fashion. It takes courage, and a lot more, to uphold it. And sitting through an evening in that tight, boned bodice takes guts, because, unless you stay upright and regal, the bones stick like fish knives into your midriff. All Di must learn to watch, which the TV cameras noticed, is the ounce or two of puppy fat which boned bodices tuck under a girl's arms. But you can't have too much of as good a thing as Lady Diana."

It is not that Prince Charles' chosen would qualify for a *Charlie's Angels* sex-pot role. At 5 ft. 10 in. (Charles is 5 ft. 11 in.), she is a blooming English rose, with a bounteous figure, shapely legs (as a back-lighted photograph of her in a Diaphanous dress showed clearly a few months ago), large luminous eyes, a sweet smile and the velvety skin and hair of a 19-year-old. Those qualities, plus her blushing innocence and aristocratic reserve, are what made her sexy, sophisticated debut such a stunner.

The debut might not have been so smashing an event without a young husband-and-wife fashion design team who have established a veddy select salon in Mayfair. David Emanuel, 28, and Elizabeth, 27, have made clothes for Lady Diana before and will make her wedding gown. They, and she, both obviously like the young, with-it look that she projects. Says David Emanuel: "Lady Diana is fantastic looking and will look magnificent in a wedding dress. She is young, fresh and lovely, and the dress should empha-



Lady Diana's layered, off-the-face coiffure (above) has been adopted by women in (left to right) London, Los Angeles, London, Los Angeles

size all that. We want to make her look like a fairy princess."

Which she certainly should, unless the Emanuels go overboard. According to the *Guardian*, the couple's "extravagant high-society gowns often go well past the borderline of the erotic . . . Their rapid fame has been based largely on exotic, intricately decorated, grand evening gowns which blend the pre-Raphaelite and Nell Gwynne styles. Demand for their work, which they advertise as 'bringing glamour back to evening clothes,' has grown as jet-set and upper-class balls have become more nostalgically lavish in times of general gloom." British commentators noted happily that Di seems determined to project a style that is in keeping with her own personality rather than that of a waxwork royal at Madame Tussaud's.

Lady Di's coiffure also launched a thousand snips. A layered cut, brushed off the face and neater but more stylized than the shag that was popularized by Jane Fonda in the early 1970s, it looks basically like a soft wedge graduated to the nape of the neck. Her hairdresser, Kevin Shanley, 25, who works in a South Kensington salon prophetically named Headlines Hair and Beauty Salon, confirms rumors that her locks are touched up with "a little blond highlighting" (or Di-lighting). Hairdressers throughout Britain are being besieged by young women who, as they say, demand a Di job. American hairdressers say they have not had a great many requests for the style; it is fairly familiar in the U.S., where it was introduced by Vidal Sassoon and other hair stylists some years ago.

The new royal look will doubtless set a standard for British models in TV commercials and other ads. Already the *Daily Mirror* has launched a nationwide Lady Di look-alike contest (first entrant: Lyn Hooper, 22, a policeman's wife in Leeds, Yorkshire).

Alas for the lass, Di's sudden fame as a reigning beauty has only intensified the *paparazzi*-style photographic coverage of her and Charles. Two French photographers were detained last week for trespassing on the grounds of Prince Charles' country house in Gloucestershire, where the couple were thought to be spending the weekend. For the cameramen, the first crocuses mean only one thing: If spring is near, can Di in a swimsuit be far behind? ***—By Michael Demarest. Reported by Arthur White/London***

New York, New York

Hot-Selling Hungarian Horror

Rubik's Cube is good for 43.2 quintillion headaches

By any measure, Bűvös Kocka is the hottest number to come out of Budapest since the Gabor girls went West. Bűvös Kocka means Magic Cube, but outside Hungary it is better known as Rubik's Cube, after its inventor, Ernö Rubik. The device is also sometimes called the Hungarian Horror, since it can induce temporary dementia in otherwise balanced citizens. It has become, in the words of a senior buyer for FAO Schwarz, the Manhattan toy emporium, "the world's most asked-for plaything." It can also be an obsession, an infuriation and an invitation to insomnia, distracting workers from their theses, even lovers from love. Scholars compare it to Sam Loyd's puzzle, an 1873 American invention that was said to have driven 1,500 people to insanity.

The infuriating plaything

Thanks to modern mass marketing, the lunacy quotient may be far higher with the cube. Ideal Toy Corp., which makes the cube under an agreement with a Hungarian state manufacturing company, produced 4.5 million last year (retail price: $6 to $10) and expects to sell far more in 1981. Other companies are manufacturing and distributing versions of the cube, while pirated editions are being turned out in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

It looks innocuous enough—a brightly colored plastic widget that could have been designed by Mondrian. It was developed in 1974 by Rubik, then 37, an architecture professor, to give his students greater experience in dealing with three-dimensional objects. It has six sides, each with a different bright color. Each side is divided into three rows, each row into three smaller cubes ("cubies"). Each row can be made to rotate 360° so that one can twiddle the cube from top to bottom or from side to side.

When the three-by-three-by-three cube comes out of the box, all nine squares on each face are aligned to make a solid color—one face red, one yellow, and so on. The aim of the game is to scramble the colors (simple) and then to manipulate them back the way they were (not simple). The number of potential color patterns is 43,252,003,274,489,856,000, and it would take the most advanced computer 1.4 million years to figure out all the possible combinations.

Douglas R. Hofstadter, an assistant professor of computer science at Indiana University and Pulitzer-prizewinning author (*Gödel, Escher, Bach*), writes in the March issue of *Scientific American*: "If you are destined to solve the unscrambling problem at all, it will take you somewhere between five hours and a year." Among other hazards, Hofstadter lists *Cubitis magikia*, "a severe mental disorder accompanied by itching of the fingertips that can be relieved only by prolonged contact" with the cube. Dame Kathleen Ollerenshaw, a former mayor of Manchester, England, had to be operated on for tendinitis of the thumb after a protracted cube-twisting session. A woman in West Germany who gave her husband the cube for Christmas is seeking a divorce because of it. Her complaint: "My husband hardly speaks to me. He even shuts himself up when we have visitors. And when he comes to bed he is too exhausted from playing with his cube to even give me a cuddle." If it had been invented in his day, Nero would undoubtedly have twiddled while Rome burned.

David Singmaster, 42, an American who lectures on mathematics and computing at London's Polytechnic of the South Bank, is believed to know more about Rubik's Cube than even Ernö Rubik. Singmaster, whose 60-page *Notes on Rubik's "Magic Cube"* has gone into five editions, has become an unofficial repository of the puzzle's lore. An English postal engineer wrote him to report that cube playing had reduced his office's efficiency to zero, but that "being a government department, no one noticed." A Whitehall bureaucrat pleaded with him to supply the solution, since the Englishman's entire computer department was working on the puzzle.

A colleague of Singmaster's with the inimitably British name of Morwen B. Thistlethwaite is believed to be the first cubist to have realigned the puzzle in 50 moves. Mathematician Thistlethwaite claims that "50 is not very good. It should be possible to do it in 20, but no one has yet found a method." Unlike scientists, who concentrate on plotting specific procedures called algorithms that will reduce the number of necessary moves, brainy young cubers seem more interested in setting speed records. One English high school student, Nicolas Hammond, 16, has managed to unscramble a cube in 28 seconds. Some whiz kids "tune" their cubes, as their less intellectual peers might tune a hotrod; the technique consists mostly of taking the puzzle apart (no easy matter) and lubricating its moving parts.

The twiddler who can solve all six sides is known as a cubist or cube*meister*. Rather than risk such status, most mortals might better heed the advice of Marc Ingenoso, a teaching assistant at the University of Wisconsin: "I think it's wise never to pick the thing up." ■

People

Joan's dead ringer Dunaway

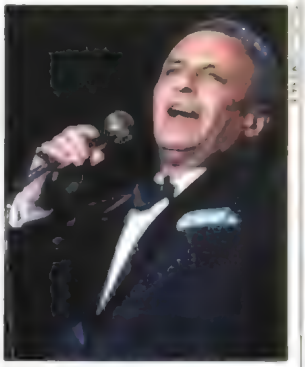
If one believes **Christina Crawford's** tales of child abuse in the bestselling *Mommie Dearest*, the real surprise is that little Christina was not actually done away with by her mommie severest. Now **Faye Dunaway** will unwrap that dirty linen again: Dunaway plays **Joan Crawford** in the movie version being shot in Los Angeles for a scheduled September release. The facial resemblance is clearly a casting director's dream. Says Dunaway: "It was scary the first time I saw it." She puts Crawford the Legend before Joan the Mom. Faye's judgment: "I have nothing but admiration for her. She was one of the last great movie stars." Dunaway is only repaying a curiously prophetic compliment. Listen to Crawford a decade ago: "Of all the actresses . . . only Faye Dunaway has the talent and class and courage it takes to make a real star."

■

True, they flew into town aboard private jets, and both had the customary squads of professional chums. But the sold-out performance by **Frank Sinatra** and **Sammy Davis Jr.** at Atlanta's Civic Center last week was a starry burst of altruism: the $148,000 in concert receipts went into municipal coffers drained by the costs of investigating the murders of 20 black children. Halfway through the three-hour benefit —in which Native Georgian **Burt Reynolds** and Singer **Roberta Flack** appeared—Sinatra declared his "sadness and love" for Atlantans "frightened by day and doubly frightened by night." Furthermore, Sinatra assured his audience of 4,600, "honorable people still outnumber dishonorable deeds."

■

When President Reagan denounces Government workers as shirkers, he cannot be thinking of **Zhao Wenjin,** 75. Zhao began work as a handyman at the U.S. consulate in Xiamen, China, when Calvin Coolidge was his Supreme Employer. In 1945, eight years after consular officials had fled Japanese invaders, an American vice consul popped down from Shanghai and ordered Zhao to keep at it. So each workday since—through Communist takeover and every twist of revolutionary rancor —Zhao Wenjin has puttered about the compound, now an oceanographic institute, and every month he has collected,



Sinatra in stricken Atlanta

via the British, his $61 paycheck. Just after Zhao was rediscovered by his absentee bosses, he had a question. "When you see the Americans in Peking," Zhao said, "ask

Caretaker Zhao Wenjin and his Chinese post of long standing

them if it's possible, since I've been working here so long, if my salary couldn't be increased." Says a State Department official: "He has been working very loyally for 55 years. The image . . . is kind of poignant." Not to get sloppily sentimental about the affair, though, a bureaucrat adds. "There is a question of whether he was part of the pension plan."

■

Has Poland's **Lech Walesa,** leader of the Solidarity movement that is shaking Eastern Europe, sold out? And for $33? Not really. Walesa, 37, has simply turned movie star. In Director **Andrzej Wajda's** *Man of Iron*, a dramatization of last summer's shipyard strikes and a sequel to his acclaimed *Man of Marble*, Walesa plays himself. He apparently has no strikes against him. Says Wajda: "He performed without any stage fright and even joked that he might want to join the film company." His one scene yet to be filmed will show Walesa taking a meeting on the coast—this one at the gates of the historic Gdansk shipyard. *—By Kurt Andersen*

Polish Union Hero (and Temporary Movie Star) Lech Walesa

On the Record

Gore Vidal, acerbic author, on his plans to lecture widely during 1981: "Some writers take to drink, others take to audiences."

John LeBoutillier, 27, youngest U.S. Representative, addressing the charge that he alienates senior colleagues: "On the comment I made about Senator Percy, I have to explain this. I did call him a wimp."

Reggie Jackson, handsomely remunerated baseball player, responding to a rah-rah locker-room slogan: "The will to win is worthless if you don't get paid for it."

The Grandest Diva

MARIA CALLAS: THE WOMAN BEHIND THE LEGEND
by Arianna Stassinopoulos; Simon & Schuster; 383 pages; $15.95

Franco Zeffirelli said that she did as much as Verdi for Italian opera. Conductor Carlo Maria Giulini said, "It is no fabricated legend. In my entire experience of the theater, I know of no artist like Maria Callas." Her private life, much of it conducted in public, was also the stuff of legend. She had the iron whim and comet-like will, the greed, love and hatred of someone strong enough to overturn the laws of life.

Her first and most enduring passion was hatred for her mother, a flighty but drivingly ambitious woman. Callas was born in 1923, shortly after the family arrived in New York from Greece. When Maria was a teen-ager, her mother took her back to Athens. During World War II, she sang major roles at the opera house, but in 1945 her teacher wisely decided that she should go to Italy and get the best training. Instead, Maria left without warning anyone, for Manhattan.

In New York she learned quickly that credentials from Greece meant nothing. She pushed endlessly for auditions. Finally, she got one with Edward Johnson, the Met's general manager, who offered her a contract for two starring roles. Inexplicably, she turned him down. Her refusal started the soprano off on a long, wearing odyssey. On the way she studied the subtleties of her art with great teachers like Conductor Tullio Serafin and learned stagecraft from Luchino Visconti, whom she deeply loved.

The term singing actress was virtually made for her. She opened up the territory of bel canto that was to be explored by Sills and Sutherland. An equal achievement was her interpretation of the warhorses—*Lucia, Tosca*—so that the weariest ear could hear them as new works of art. Her musical values were the strictest and most scrupulous. She sang with complete fidelity to the composer and his idiom; yet the human essence of each heroine shone through her interpretation. Audiences felt that they were seeing Norma or Violetta. Hers was not a conventionally "beautiful" voice, like that of her great rival Renata Tebaldi. It could be volatile and reedy. Her wanderings impaired her health and her voice. She enjoyed only about ten years of international fame before serious vocal trouble began.

Maria Callas engages in rare self-examination at her home in Milan, 1959
Iron whim and comet-like will, enough to overturn the laws of life.

But maybe Maria was ready to quit. She had married Giovanni Meneghini, a Veronese businessman 28 years her senior, who adored her but soon bored her. Walter Legge, then head of EMI records, liked to tell a story about a late night conversation with them: "Woolen undervests visible beneath their nightwear, [they were] reading Italian illustrateds." Callas decided to become Audrey Hepburn (*Roman Holiday* was a favorite film) and lost 62 lbs. in two years. In 1956 Callas met Elsa Maxwell, who swept her into European café society and the next year introduced her to Aristotle Onassis.

Though he cared nothing for opera, Onassis immediately basked in Maria's artistic fame. She said goodbye to Meneghini and sailed away on Onassis' yacht *Christina* to a life of luxury and narcissism. She got her TMWL (To Maria With Love) bracelet—just as Onassis' first wife Tina had received a TTWL and his second, Jacqueline Kennedy, would get a TJWL.

She became pregnant and wanted the child, but Onassis insisted on an abortion. It was a turning point. Sometimes the *Christina* sailed without her. Once, in 1963, Jackie and her sister Lee Radziwill cruised instead. The future could be read in what those ladies made off with: Lee a string of pearls, Jackie a massive diamond and ruby necklace.

The Kennedy-Onassis marriage was not a success. He continued to see Maria and, reports Biographer Arianna Stassinopoulos, just before he died in 1975, he hired Roy Cohn to start divorce proceedings against Jackie. But the diva's happiness was over. An affair with Tenor Giuseppe di Stefano was doomed; the poor man could not match her memory of Onassis. She declined rapidly after several illnesses, and it was not really surprising when she died in Paris, at 54, living in comfort but alone.

Callas, the artist, is a respected but pale figure in this book. Nor is there con-

Excerpt

"On that long-awaited and much-feared night [Callas' Met debut], the audience did yell themselves hoarse through sixteen curtain calls . . . And still the performance was not over. The Trianon Room at the Ambassador Hotel had been taken over by Angel Records for a large party in Maria's honor. The guests . . . were a cross section of the musical, social, diplomatic and press worlds—from the Greek and Italian ambassadors to Marlene Dietrich and Elsa Maxwell, the notorious socialite and gossip columnist. Dietrich, worried about Maria's health during rehearsals, had spent hours boiling down eight pounds of beef to a quart of purest broth. 'It's wonderful,' Maria said gratefully. 'Tell me, what brand of cubes do you use?'"

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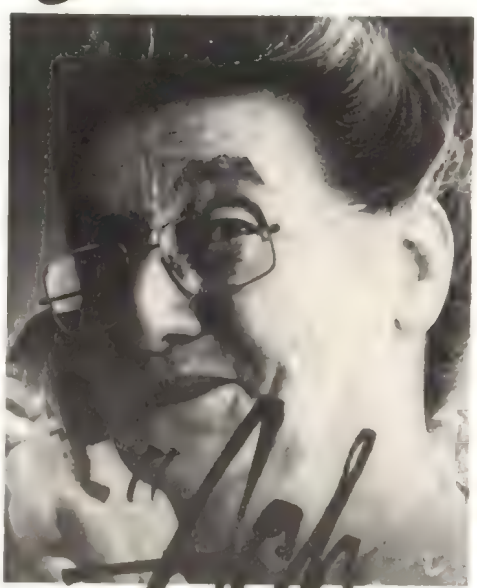

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Chile	6.90	5.55 8pm-5am & Sun
Colombia	6.90†	5.55†Sunday only
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Cyprus	6.90	5.55 Sunday only
Denmark	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Ecuador	6.90†	5.55†6pm-5am & Sun
El Salvador	5.55†	4.20†6pm-5am & Sun
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Haiti	6.90†	5.55†6pm-5am & Sun
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Hong Kong	6.90	–
Indonesia	7.65	–
Iran	7.65	–
Iraq	7.65	–
Ireland	4.65	3.60 5pm-5am & Sun
Israel	7.65	5.70 Sat & Sun only
Italy	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Ivory Coast	6.90	–
Japan	7.65	5.70 Sunday only
Kenya	6.90	–
Korea, Rep. of	7.65	–
Kuwait	6.90	–
Liberia	6.90	5.55 Sunday only
Libya	$7.65	–
Liechtenstein	6.15	–
Luxembourg	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Malaysia	7.65	–
Monaco	6.15	–
Netherlands	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Netherlands Antilles	6.00†	4.80†6pm-6am&Sat Sun
New Caledonia	7.65	–
New Zealand	6.90	–
Nicaragua	5.55†	4.20†6pm-5am & Sun
Nigeria	7.65	–
Norway	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Panama	4.65†	3.60†5pm-7am&Sat Sun
Papua New Guinea	7.65	–
Paraguay	6.90	5.55 Sunday only
Peru	6.90	5.55 8pm-5am & Sun
Philippines	7.65	5.70 Sunday only
Portugal	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Romania	6.90	–
San Marino	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Saudi Arabia	7.65	–
Senegal	6.90	–
Singapore	7.65	–
South Africa	7.65	–
Spain	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Sri Lanka	7.65	–
Suriname	6.90†	5.55†Sunday only
Sweden	6.15	4.95 5pm-5am & Sun
Switzerland	6.15	–
Tahiti	7.65	–
Taiwan	7.65	5.70 Sunday only
Thailand	7.65	–
Tunisia	7.65	–
Turkey	6.90	5.55 Sunday only
United Arab Emirates	7.65	–
United Kingdom	4.65	3.60 5pm-5am & Sun
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Time differences

Confused about time differences? Use these samples as your benchmark. Here's how it works: with your time zone as your guide, check your watch and add the number of hours shown below. For example, 4 p.m. in the Eastern Time Zone is 10 p.m. in Germany.

Time Difference from U.S. Mainland to	US Time Zones* EST	CST	MST	PST
France	6	7	8	9
Germany	6	7	8	9
Greece	7	8	9	10
Hong Kong	13	14	15	16
Israel	7	8	9	10
Japan	14	15	16	17
New Zealand	18	19	20	21
South Africa	7	8	9	10
Sweden	6	7	8	9
United Kingdom	5	6	7	8
Venezuela	1	2	3	4

*based on Standard Time

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vincing evidence to explain the major psychological puzzles of her life: the cruel loathing of her silly mother, her odd artistic decisions. But if Stassinopoulos, 30, is deficient as a biographer, she is a good reporter. The child of a business consultant in Athens, she went to Cambridge University in England. In writing *Callas*, her great break was the cooperation of the singer's godfather Leonidas Lantzounis. After he read a draft, he gave her the candid, affectionate letters that Callas had written him over many years They are used as background, but one wishes that the author had quoted more

Stassinopoulos is also good at interviewing sources and collecting anecdotes When glaucoma was diagnosed and eyedrops required every two hours, Maria bought a tiny Louis XV timepiece that tinkled an alarm every two hours. Yet she loved nothing better than combing Woolworth's for such "bargains" as a lemon squeezer or potato peeler. A friend remembered a lunch at Claridges during which Maria proudly produced her latest finds. The Callas jealousy was legendary The sight of her beloved Visconti, who was homosexual, merely talking with Leonard Bernstein sent her into a rage Yet she did not always take herself seriously. At one of her classes, a student confessed to problems with "three or four notes." Replied the diva: "Likewise."

The foibles are fun; the gossip, especially about international high life, is entertaining—and doubtless one reason why the book topped the British bestseller lists One longs, though, to hear more of Callas speaking on her art, for she said a great deal, especially in the 1971-72 master classes at Juilliard. Perhaps the cliché is correct: art is inscrutable. That may be the wisdom in a musing early in her career by Italian Conductor Nicola Rescigno: "It is a deep mystery why a girl born into a musically unsophisticated family, and raised in an atmosphere devoid of operatic tradition, should have been blessed with the ability to sing the perfect recitative." —*By Martha Duffy*

Arianna Stassinopoulos
Truth from the godfather

Donald Newlove

Drunkspeare

THOSE DRINKING DAYS: MYSELF AND OTHER WRITERS
by Donald Newlove; Horizon
176 pages; $9.95

For more than 25 years, Novelist Donald Newlove would not separate his need to write from his need to drink. He put himself in excellent company. Literary history is strewn with ego-alchemists who believed that they could turn alcohol and ink into art. But the marathon effort of a novel requires a clear head for architecture, and wine, as Dr. Johnson put it, "makes a man mistake words for thoughts."

Newlove, 52, filled a trunk with gorgeously marinated words, though he could not distill a publishable book, that passport to the literary world he saw only through the bottom of a glass. Instead, he sealed himself in the myth of the struggling, hard-drinking writer. He became a middle-aged character in Manhattan's East Village. His beard grew wild, as did his waistline. He dressed entirely in purple and must have resembled a hairy grape

As the years passed, wives and girlfriends drifted off. Newlove supported himself with typing jobs on Wall Street and low-paid reviewing for a weekly called *Idle Hours*. He cleaved to his fiction bottle and dreams of success. "On my weekly payday, having written five reviews and collected thirty dollars," he writes, "I'd shine my rotting shoes, press my crotchstinking, shinyassed pants, trim the fray from shirt and jacket, knot up my best greasy tie, pour down a tall wine or two for ballast, then subway uptown to The Forum of the Twelve Caesars or The Four Seasons for one costly drink amid the greatest elegance available to me, *burn* for one brief moment! I hoped for a triumph of décor over loneliness."

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Books

writers and part sermon on the dangers of "Drunkspeare ... its bird song and purling ravishment, bliss of self-love." And perhaps self-hate. After achieving degradations close to madness, Newlove stopped drinking. In 1970 he published *The Painter Gabriel*, a novel whose subject, fresh language and touching exuberance reminded some critics of Joyce Cary's *The Horse's Mouth*. Generous praise greeted his second novel, *Leo & Theodore*, a picaresque about the bawdy adventures of Siamese twins growing up near Lake Erie, the author's home turf. This book and its sequel, *The Drunks*, were revised and republished as *Sweet Adversity*.

The title does not apply to *Those Drinking Days*. Newlove takes a hard, unsentimental line with himself and writers better known than he. There are the fall-down drunks, like Malcolm Lowry, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner and Dylan Thomas. Heavy drinkers of the Hemingway and James Joyce class are made to seem especially self-deluding about their problem because they usually tanked up after working hours.

In general, Newlove's treatment of the thirsty talent in the room is too haphazard to sustain any conclusions about writers and alcohol that would not apply to computer programmers. But like improvisational jazz, the book works because of its looseness. The Newlove sound is robust and swinging, the mark of a man who has discovered that his talent is intoxication enough. —*By R.Z. Sheppard*

Best Sellers

FICTION

1. The Covenant, *Michener (1 last week)*
2. Brain, *Cook (2)*
3. Firestarter, *King (3)*
4. Rage of Angels, *Sheldon (4)*
5. Answer as a Man, *Caldwell (5)*
6. The Key to Rebecca, *Follett (6)*
7. Unfinished Tales, *Tolkien (7)*
8. The Aviator, *Gann (8)*
9. Come Pour the Wine, *Freeman (9)*
10. The Fifth Horseman, *Collins & Lapierre (10)*

NONFICTION

1. Richard Simmons' Never-Say-Diet Book, *Simmons (1)*
2. Nice Girls Do, *Kassorla (2)*
3. Cosmos, *Sagan (3)*
4. You Can Negotiate Anything, *Cohen (4)*
5. The Last Mafioso, *Demaris (5)*
6. Crisis Investing, *Casey (6)*
7. Nothing Down, *Allen (7)*
8. The Sky's the Limit, *Dyer (8)*
9. The Coming Currency Collapse, *Smith (9)*
10. Betty Crocker's International Cookbook *(10)*

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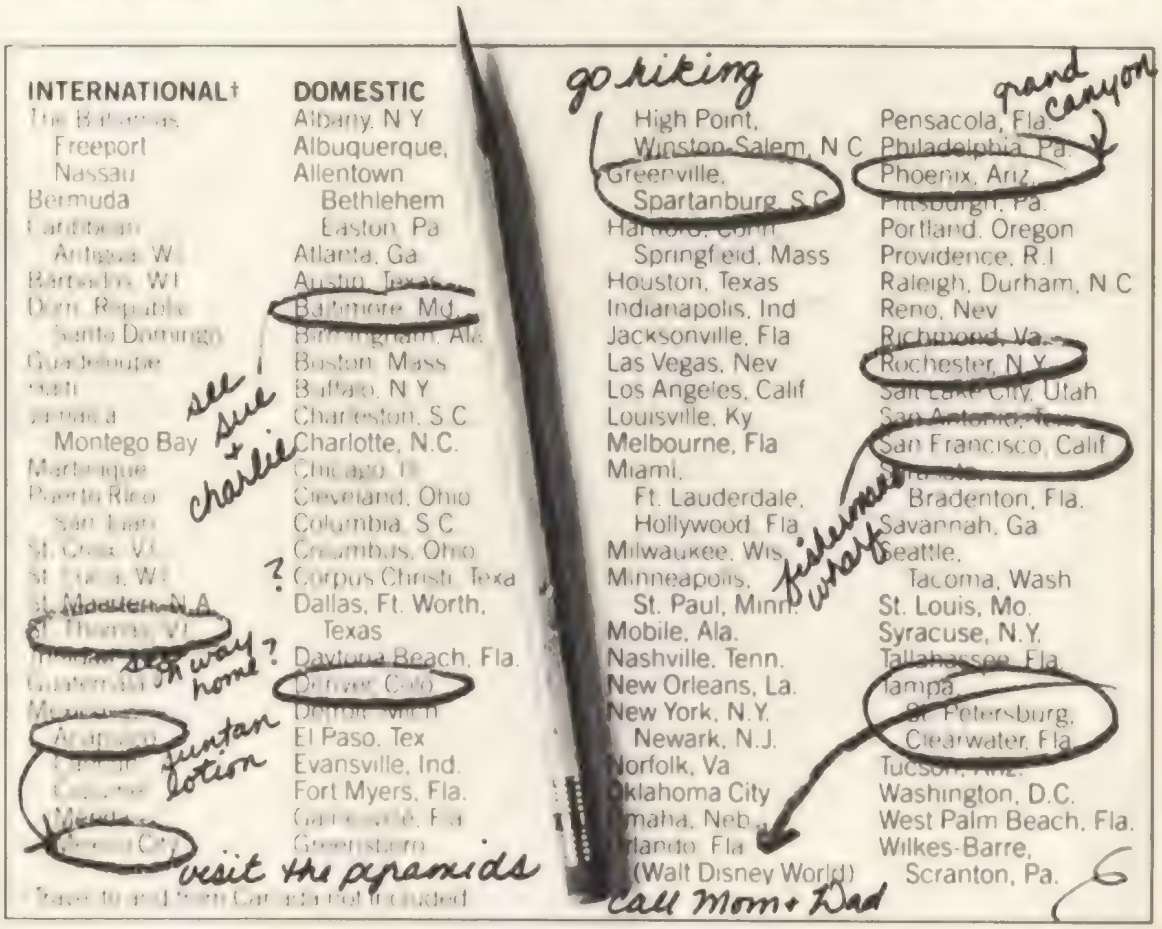

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Making College More Costly

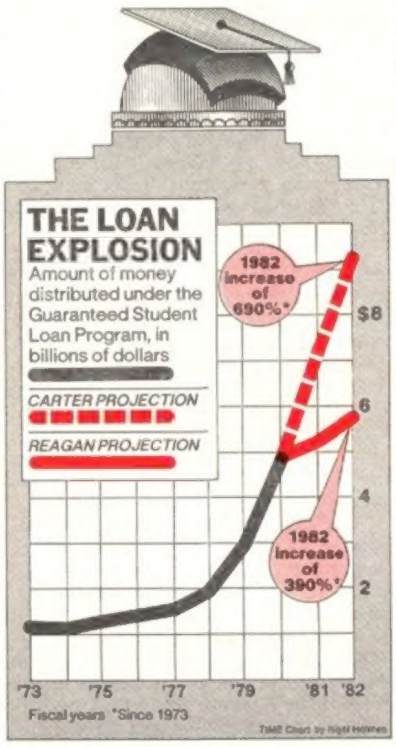
Tighter loan rules will squeeze schools, parents and students

Since 1978, every U.S. college student, regardless of family income, has been eligible for a Government guaranteed student loan. Not surprisingly, these loans swiftly grew into the nation's major source of student aid, contributing heavily to college budgets. This year they total about $5 billion.

Now the Reagan Administration is trying to cut back drastically on such student loans. Its motto is: "Families and students—not the Federal Government —should be the first source of funds for education expenses." Its goal: to tighten standards of loan eligibility and require larger family contributions to college costs. Under present law, any student can obtain an annual loan of up to $2,500 for four undergraduate years (plus $5,000 for a year of grad school). Parents can borrow an additional $3,000 to help foot college bills that at schools like Harvard, M.I.T. and Stanford next fall will exceed $10,000 per annum. Currently the Government not only guarantees repayment, it pays banks the difference between the 9% interest paid by students and the going commercial rate (now about 17%). As long as students are enrolled in school, the Government makes payments to the banks to cover interest. The borrowers do not have to begin their repayment until six months after they graduate and even then have up to ten full years to discharge their debts. Despite the generous terms, the default rate was as high as 10% in 1977. By last year, after a Government collection campaign, it had dropped to about 6%.

Under President Reagan's proposed plan, the Government will guarantee loans only to students who have actually proved "financial need," in very much the same way that colleges now determine eligibility for scholarship funds. Students and parents will be expected to contribute a certain amount of money to education each year on the basis of the family's adjusted gross income. The borrowing limit will be the difference between the required family contribution, plus any college scholarships and work-study assistance a student has been granted, and the total cost of the education. In short, applying for a loan will be more like applying for a grant or a scholarship. Borrowing the maximum, $2,500 a year, will be possible only for very low-income families. All along the line, families will have to contribute more toward their children's school bills.

These and other reforms could cut the volume of guaranteed student loans by nearly 40% by 1982 and save the Government as much as $2 billion over the next five years. Even educators agree that the open-ended G.S.L. program ought to be limited. But many of them fear that the loss of so much aid to students may radically change higher education in America. They warn that the reduction in aid may keep lower- and middle-class students from attending expensive private colleges, turning such schools into exclusive preserves for the rich. About two-thirds of all private-college students in New York State, for example, now have Government guaranteed loans, as do more than 20% of all students nationwide. Colleges with large numbers of students on guaranteed loans are especially vulnerable, and some may be forced to close. Dallas Martin, director of the National Association of Student Financial Administrators told TIME Washington Correspondent Jeanne Saddler: "It would be a tragedy if we cut back like this on an entire generation. The last time this happened was during the Depression, and it took the country years to recover. College graduates provide us with technological advances and generally they pay more taxes."



Large numbers of students and parents, educators insist, will simply not be able to find the extra cash required. As Douglas Seipelt, president of the National Council of Higher Education Loan Programs, puts it, "The system is saying that if you're making $25,000 and you have two children, one in college, you should have $2,000 in your checking or your savings account to pay the college. In my opinion, it's not there."

Students and parents around the country agree. Still, many seem willing to try other ways of paying for education. Steve Holtz, a pre-dentistry sophomore at the University of Michigan, earns $750 a year in addition to his $2,500 loan, and his schoolteacher mother contributes $750 toward the total cost per year of $4,000. "My mom has already sacrificed enough for my sister and me," he says. "I wouldn't have the nerve to ask her for more money." If Holtz loses all or part of his loan under the new proposal, he will change plans, find a job this spring "and try to save enough to help pay for the rest of my education." But, he notes, with his limited qualifications work is hard to find in the Detroit area. Greg Madonna, at the University of Nevada at Reno, has a similar problem. His father, an Air Force colonel, makes $31,000 a year and has four children, three of whom will be in college this coming fall. Says Madonna: "My parents pay for my room, which is $381 a semester, not including food. That's about all they can do." Without his $1,250 loan, he would have to quit school. But, adds Madonna, he would "get a job, save money and then go back."

The Government also aims to cut back on Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (just renamed Pell Grants). These are not loans but flat annual awards of up to $1,750 given to notably needy students. To qualify for a Pell Grant, a needy family must now contribute to each child's education 14% of its "discretionary income," *i.e.*, what is left over after essential bills have been paid. The Reagan plan would increase that figure to 20%. It would further require that all grant recipients personally earn a minimum of $750 a year toward their education.

There are signs that Congress may refuse to cut educational funding as deeply as Reagan proposes. Since the plan is likely to affect close to 4 million students and every U.S. college, public and private, the political as well as the fiscal stakes are considerable. Some college-aid experts are already urging that the new tough standards be applied only to families with incomes above $30,000 a year. It seems reasonably certain, though, that many American families will have to think harder than ever about the cost —and value—of education. It also seems a safe bet that the "stop-out" pattern will increase, not so the student can "find himself" for a year or two, but so he can earn enough money to go on. ■

Burnett outside court with Publicist Rick Ingersoll: "Time to stand up and be counted"

A Five-Year Legal Toothache

Carol Burnett seeks $10 million from a sensation-monger

Not since the Lee Marvin "palimony" case has a Hollywood courtroom drama attracted such attention. As an expectant crowd lined the corridors at Los Angeles County superior court last week, Actress-Comedian Carol Burnett arrived for the first day of proceedings in her $10 million libel suit against the sensationalist weekly tabloid the *National Enquirer* (circ. 5.1 million). Said a determined-looking Burnett: "I'm very happy to be here. It's like a five-year-old toothache and I'm finally at the dentist."

Burnett's suit arises out of a 1976 *Enquirer* item. "At a Washington restaurant," it said, "a boisterous Carol Burnett had a loud argument with another diner, Henry Kissinger. Then she traipsed around the place offering everyone a bit of her dessert" and "accidently knocked a glass of wine over one diner and started giggling instead of apologizing." Burnett demanded and got a retraction, in which the *Enquirer* admitted that the "events did not occur." Unsatisfied, she compared the *Enquirer* to "a hit-and-run driver who, when you're in the hospital, sends you a bouquet of crabgrass."

Enquirer Attorney William Masterson contends that Burnett suffered no damages from the story, "even if it was defamatory." Burnett's lawyers maintain that she was so upset she was forced to delay rehearsals of a television special that she was working on with Opera Star Beverly Sills. The story, which implied she had been drinking, was particularly painful to Burnett because her parents both died of alcoholism. The *Enquirer's* attorneys are expected to include in their defense the issue of freedom of the press. But Burnett, among others, argues that the First Amendment also requires a responsibility on the part of the news organization. Her attorneys are lining up supporting testimony from such witnesses as Kissinger, MCA Chairman Lew Wasserman (Kissinger's dinner partner at the Washington restaurant, reportedly the Rive Gauche) and Burnett's husband, Producer Joe Hamilton.

Within the Hollywood community, the trial is being watched as closely as the bottom line on a production contract. Waiting in the wings with their own seven- or eight-figure libel suits against the *Enquirer* are Rory Calhoun, Phil Silvers, Paul Lynde, Agent Marty Ingels and Wife Shirley Jones, Ed McMahon and Rudy Vallee, all of whom evidently agree with Burnett that "it's time to stand up and be counted and not let people like this get away with it."

The gathering legal onslaught is reminiscent of the mid-1950s, when lawsuits, particularly those by Robert Mitchum and Heiress Doris Duke, severely dampened *Confidential* magazine's penchant for unfounded gossip. *Confidential's* circulation plummeted from 4.1 million to about 300,000, and the magazine folded in 1969. The *Enquirer* boasts that the Burnett case is the first libel trial since Generoso Pope Jr. bought the tabloid in 1952. But that is because it occasionally settles out of court.

In the late 1960s, the *Enquirer* shed its "I Ate My Baby" image in favor of miracle diets, life-after-death tales and celebrity muck. A fact-checking department was developed in its Lantana, Fla., headquarters, and all gossip items had to be backed up by two independent sources —who were often paid by the *Enquirer*. But faced with flagging sales and increased competition from Rupert Murdoch's racy rising *Star* (circ. 3.5 million), Pope soon ordered up more pizazz. The outcome of the Burnett case and other suits may well determine whether he ordered up too much. ■

Bumpy Takeoff

Cronkite hits turbulence

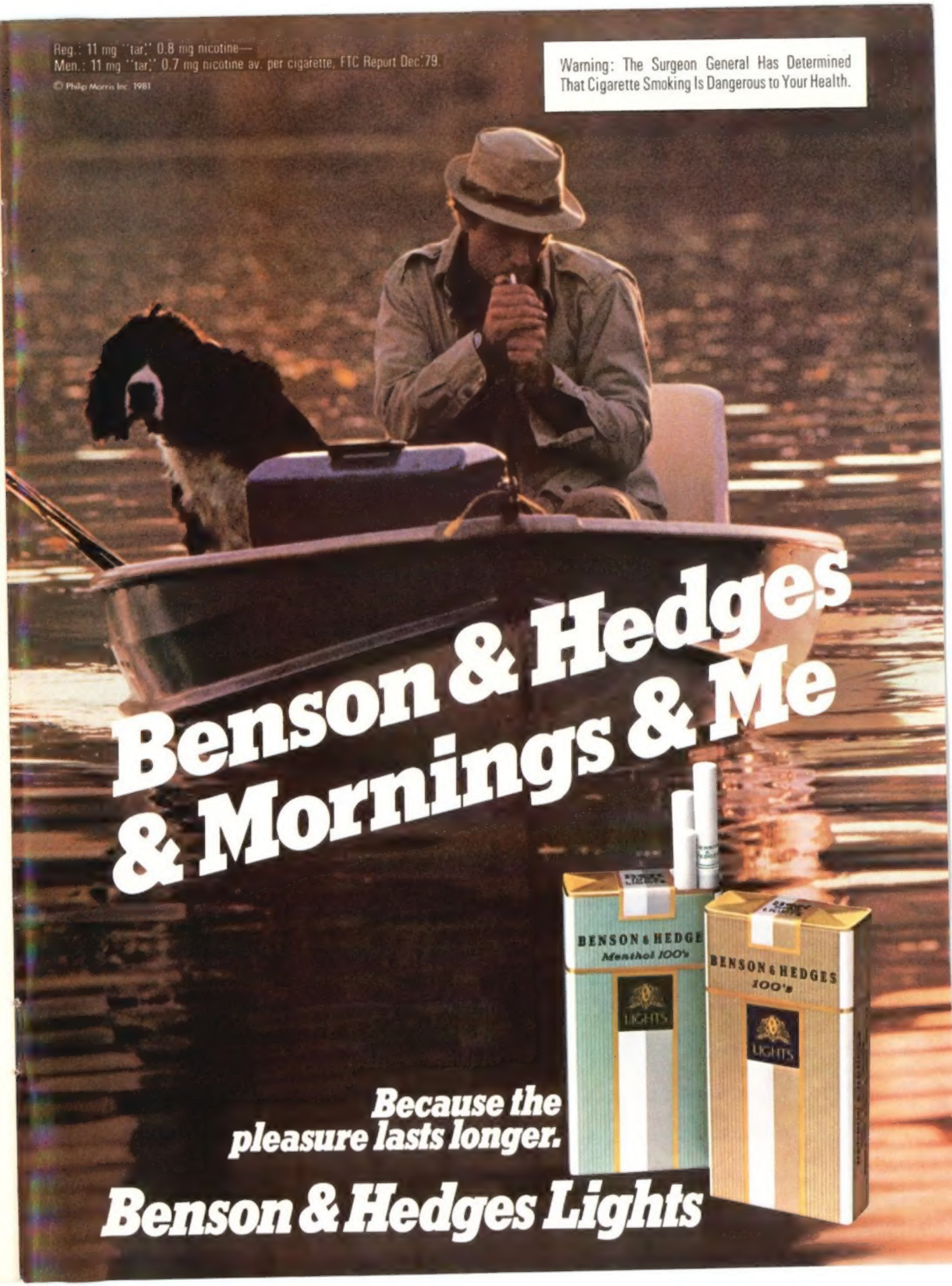
When Walter Cronkite signed off *The Evening News* to follow other pursuits, few could have guessed that his first—indeed, almost immediate—move would be from the newsroom to the board room. But last week, just days after he vacated the anchorman's chair he had occupied for 19 years, Pan American World Airways announced that Cronkite had been named a director of the company. "I've always had an interest in flight and the airlines and a fondness for Pan Am in particular," explained Cronkite. "It made a perfect fitting of interests."

News executives at rival networks questioned just how fitting it was. "We would not permit such an arrangement here," said NBC News President William Small, "because of the potential conflict of interest on stories that correspondents covered. Walter is going to do a science series [*Universe*, a half-hour newsmagazine that will air 13 episodes this summer] that could get into the area of energy, and that affects the airline industry." Concurred ABC's senior vice president of news, Richard Wald: "No active working correspondent at ABC could become the member of a board of a corporation."

At CBS, News President William Leonard defended the Pan Am connection by pointing out that Cronkite is not really a staff correspondent, but has a "new status" at the network. "We call him a special correspondent, in which we have exclusive use of his activities for television, but not all of his time," said Leonard. "One of the things his contract spells out is that he is able to make business associations, including directorships, with our understanding."

Cronkite

As a director, Cronkite will receive $10,000 a year from Pan Am and $300 for every board meeting he attends. Also included is free travel on all Pan Am flights for himself and his wife. Some newsmen suggested that Cronkite, who has no need of the money, may have been motivated by a desire to see and participate in decision making from the inside after all his years of reporting events from the outside. In any case, Cronkite was offering no apologies for his debatable move. "I can pick and choose assignments as I please," he said. "If a story comes along that involves the air transportation business, I'd rule myself out." He also made it clear that he would feel free to accept other directorships if they were offered. Evidently that's the way it is, from now on. ■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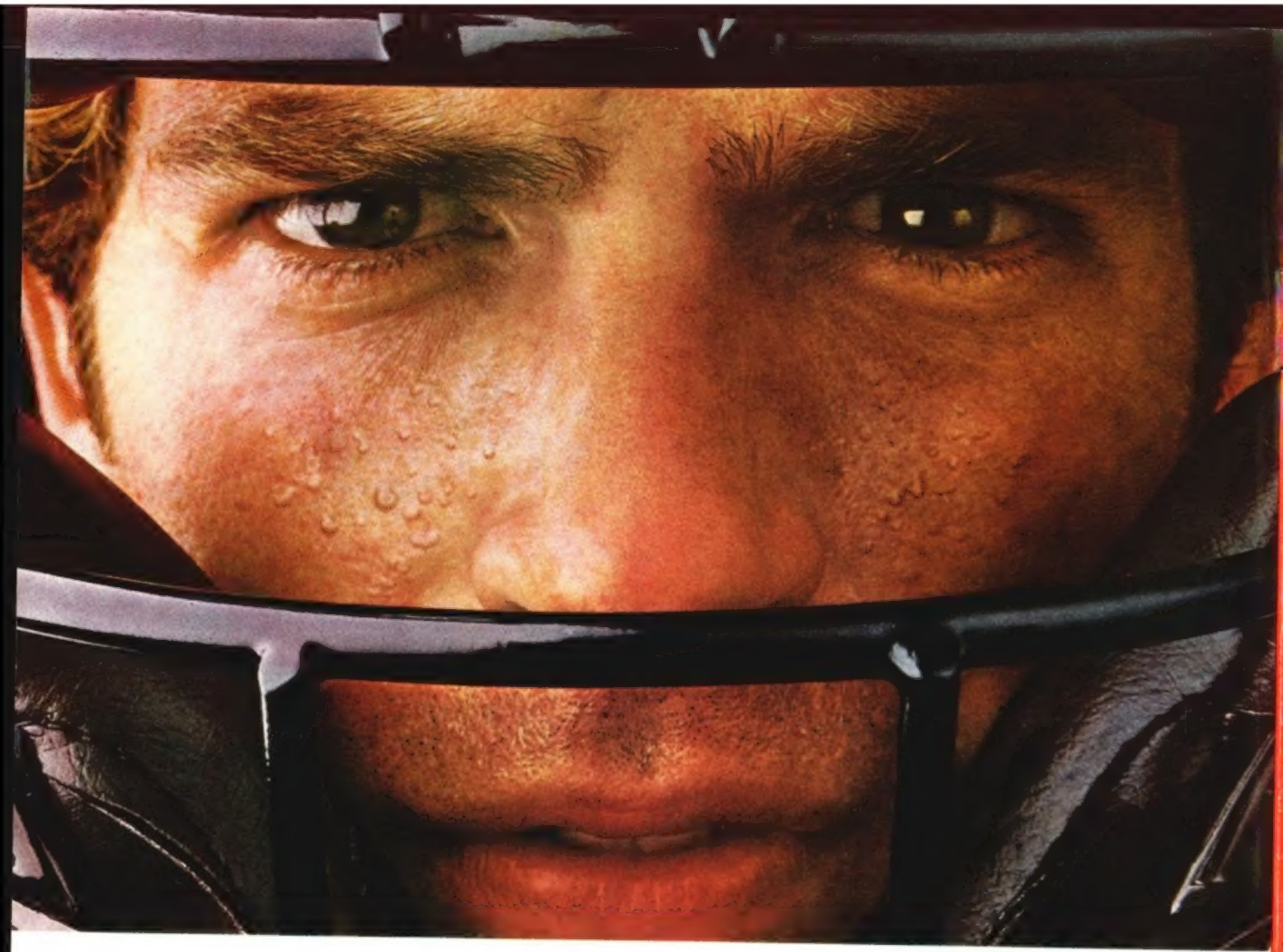

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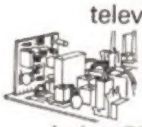

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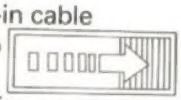
With built-in cable tuning (no converter  needed). For access to more channels. A hundred and five channels. Zenith System 3. For superb picture. Dependability. And more.

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